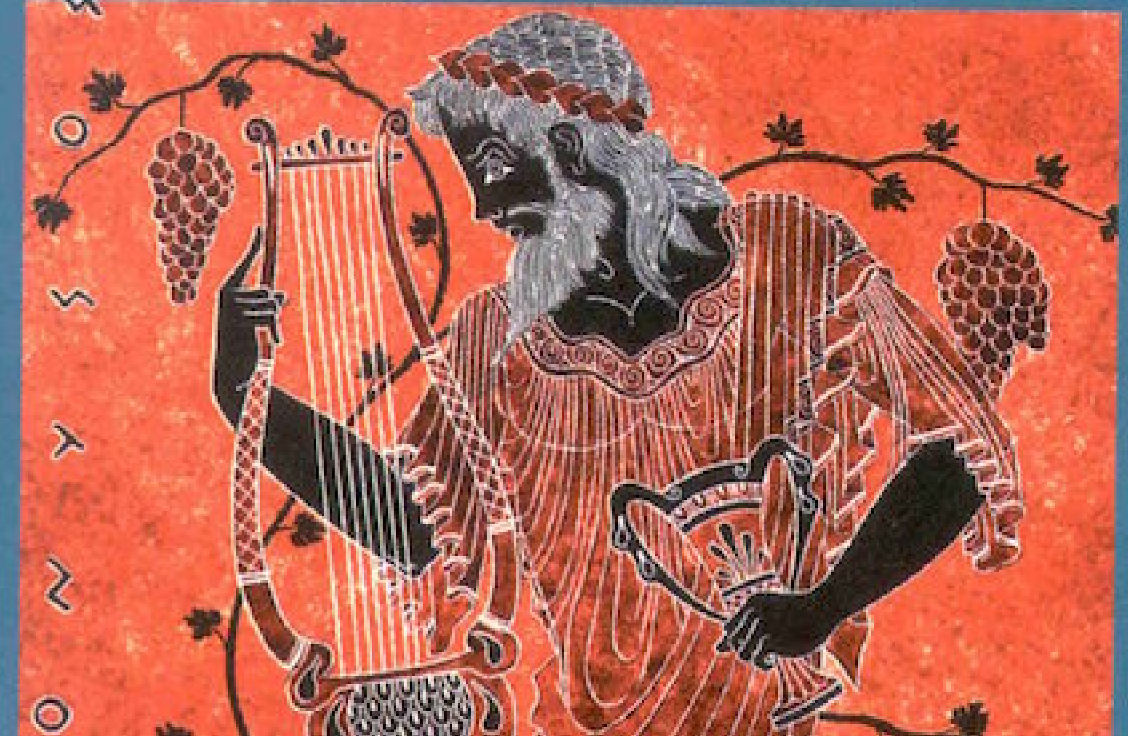
Douglas E. Gerber

A Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets



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A COMPANION TO THE GREEK LYRIC POETS

A COMPANION TO THE GREEK LYRIC POETS

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DOUGLAS E. GERBER

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PREFACE

The primary aim of this book is not to break new ground, but to make the reader aware of the main problems and controversies associated with the Greek Lyric poets and to provide the necessary bibliography for further study. After the introduction the book is divided into four roughly equal sections: iambos, elegy, personal poetry, and public poetry. The last two headings are not entirely accurate representations of the poetry involved, since some of these poets composed both for a select audience and for a more general public, but no other headings seemed preferable. No attempt has been made to impose a strict uniformity of style or method of citation on the contributors, the primary concern being to ensure clarity on the part of the reader.

Considerable attention is paid to bibliography and each section contains a reference to the appropriate pages in D.E. Gerber's *Lustrum* surveys. These surveys are in full:

"Pindar and Bacchylides 1934-1987," *Lustrum* 31 (1989) 97-269 and 32 (1990) 7-98, 283-92.

"Early Greek Elegy and Iambus 1921-1989," *Lustrum* 33 (1991) 7-225, 401-409.

"Greek Lyric Poetry since 1920. Part I: General, Lesbian Poets," *Lustrum* 35 (1993) 7-179.

"Greek Lyric Poetry since 1920, Part II: From Alcman to Fragmenta Adespota," *Lustrum* 36 (1994) 7-188, 285-97.

Journals are cited according to the abbreviations in *L'Année Philologique*, except that *CP, AJP, TAPA* etc. are used in place of *CPh, AJPh, TAPhA*. Works cited frequently are given short titles as follows:

Adkins, *Poetic Craft* = A.W.H. Adkins, *Poetic Craft in the Early Greek Elegists* (Chicago 1985).

Bossi, *Studi* = F. Bossi, *Studi su Archiloco* (Bari 1990^2)

Bowra, *GLP* = C.M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry from Alcman to Simonides* (Oxford 1961^2).

Burkert, *GR* = W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Mass. 1985). English translation by J. Raffan of *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart 1977).

Burkert, *HN* = W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Berkeley 1983). English translation by P. Bing of *Homo Necans* (Berlin 1972).

Degani, *Studi* = E. Degani, *Studi su Ipponatte* (Bari 1984).

Fränkel, *EGPP* = H. Fränkel, *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy* (Oxford 1975). English translation by M. Hadas and J. Willis of *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums* (Munich 1962[2]).

Gentili, *Poetry* = B. Gentili, *Poetry and its Public in Ancient Greece from Homer to the Fifth Century* (Baltimore 1988). English translation by A.T. Cole of *Poesia e pubblico nella Grecia antica da Omero al V secolo* (Bari 1984).

Kirkwood, *EGM* = G.M. Kirkwood, *Early Greek Monody. The History of a Poetic Type* (Ithaca 1974).

Mosshammer, *Chronicle* = A.A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg 1979).

Podlecki, *Early Gr. Poets* = A.J. Podlecki, *The Early Greek Poets and Their Times* (Vancouver 1984).

West, *Studies* = M.L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin 1974).

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Each section in this introduction deserves far more space than can be allotted here. Some sections, in fact, would require an entire book in order to receive a full treatment. Of necessity, therefore, I can do little more than give a brief account of the main issues and provide bibliographical aid for further study. Also, some of what might be included here is reserved for the introduction to elegy.

Terminology

When we speak of early Greek lyric poetry it is customary to include under this heading all poetry from the 7th to the mid-5th century B.C. with the exception of stichic hexameters and drama. The term 'lyric,' however, is something of a misnomer. It implies that such poetry was accompanied on a stringed instrument,[1] which was certainly not true of most iambus and elegy; it does not take account of the *aulos*,[2] a wind instrument which at least sometimes accompanied elegy and which could also accompany Pindar's epinician odes;[3] and it fails to recognize that some poetry, especially iambus, may not have had any musical accompaniment.[4] Furthermore, the Greeks themselves did not use the word λυρικός as a generic term until quite late.[5] Since μέλος was a common word for 'song,' appearing as early as Archilochus, some prefer to distinguish between iambic and elegiac poetry on the one hand and melic on the other, the latter including both monodic and choral song. This too is inadequate, since elegy was often sung and the same must have been true for epodes. In spite of these

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[1] For the different stringed instruments see M. Maas and J. M. Snyder, *Stringed Instruments in Ancient Greece* (New Haven 1989).

[2] A pipe or oboe rather than a flute, as it is often mistranslated: see K. Schlesinger, *The Greek Aulos* (London 1939). On music and Greek lyric see W. D. Anderson, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Greece* (Ithaca 1994) 58-112.

[3] Lyre and pipe are combined in *O.* 3.8, 7.12, *P.* 10.39, *N.* 9.8 and *I.* 5.27.

[4] Cf. West, *Studies* 33: "The singing of an epode will have been accompanied by a musical instrument. The same may have been true of the spoken iambics, though there is no usable evidence for archaic times."

[5] The earliest extant example seems to be in Philodemus *On Poetry* 2.35 (1st cent. B.C.): τὰ κωμικὰ καὶ τραγικὰ καὶ λυρικά.

inaccuracies, however, 'lyric' remains the common designation for the different kinds of poetry surveyed in this book.

The terms monodic and choral are clear enough, but a problem arises when we try to determine whether a particular fragment or poem belongs to one category or the other. Here it must suffice to refer to the article by Malcolm Davies[6] who rightly exposes the errors in the commonly-held view that certain poets were exclusively monodic or choral. Because, for example, Alcman's maiden-songs were clearly choral, this does not justify our categorizing him as simply a choral poet and our assuming that every extant verse is choral. Many Greek poets were extremely versatile and composed more than one type of poetry.

Transmission

For the monodic and choral poets the Alexandrians recognized a canon of nine. In chronological order these were: Alcman, Alcaeus, Sappho, Stesichorus, Ibycus, Anacreon, Simonides, Bacchylides and Pindar.[7] Except for Simonides, our sources tell us, although not always in an unambiguous manner, the number of books (i.e., papyrus rolls) into which the works of these nine poets were divided. By a conservative estimate we can assume that the Alexandrians had at least 100 rolls at their disposal and if we assume that the average roll contained 1000-1500 verses, we can form a rough idea of what had survived from the archaic to the Alexandrian period.[8] Of this substantial body of poetry we have intact only one poem of Sappho, perhaps a few of Anacreon's short poems, some epigrams of Simonides, most of Pindar's epinicians,

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[6] M. Davies, "Monody, Choral Lyric, and the Tyranny of the Hand-book," *CQ* n.s. 38 (1988) 52-64.

Much of the controversy concerns the poetry of Stesichorus and Pindar. For Pindar see the items listed in n. 23.

[7] See Gentili, *Poetry* 243-44 n. 2 and S. Barbantani, "I poeti lirici del canone alessandrino nell'epigrammatistica," *Aevum Antiquum* 6 (1993) 5-97.

[8] It is unlikely that a roll could accommodate more than 2000 lines and some rolls may have contained much fewer than 1000. We are told that Sappho's first book contained 1320 verses (notation on fr. 30.9), but her eighth book only 130-139 verses (notation at end of fr. 103). Whether the latter was confined to a separate roll or combined with another book is unknown. A marginal notation informs us that Stesichorus' *Geryoneis*, which presumably was accommodated in one roll, contained at least 1300 lines (fr. S 27).

and a number of Bacchylides' epinicians and dithyrambs. When we turn to the iambic and elegiac poets the picture is even worse. The works of Semonides and Hipponax were divided into two books each and those of Archilochus perhaps into four,[9] but nothing of what we have can be said with certainty to represent a complete poem. For the elegiac poets we are not told how extensive the Alexandrian holdings were of Callinus and Solon and it is not clear how much of the *Theognidea* should be attributed to Theognis. It is possible that a few of the fragments of Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus and Solon are complete poems. In addition to the fragmentary nature of so much of what remains of the major poets, there is a further problem that must be recognized. When we think of the lyric age, we tend to think primarily of the poets included in this book, but there is a large number of poets whose works are even more imperfectly preserved, in some instances mere names without any extant verses. Space prevents any attempt to discuss these figures, even though some, such as Terpander, were clearly of considerable importance.[10]

How was it then that the remains of some poets succeeded in surviving for several centuries until they were collected and edited by the Alexandrians? It is generally agreed that the book-trade began in the fifth century[11] and that writing was introduced to Greece early in the eighth century.[12] This is not the place to enter into the vexed question of when and where the Homeric poems were committed to writing,[13] although clearly if they, or portions of them, were written down as early as the seventh century, there is no reason to assume that the lyric poets of this period were treated any differently. In spite of the prodigious capability of the early Greeks to preserve poetry orally, it seems difficult to believe

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9 Archilochus is not cited by book number, but frequently by the terms ἐλεγεῖα, τρίμετρα, τετράμετρα and ἐπῳδοί.

10 For Terpander see the excellent edition by A. Gostoli, *Terpandro. Introduzione, testimonianze, testo critico, traduzione e commento* (Rome 1990). For some other poets see Kirkwood, *EGM* 178-93 (notes on 277-80) and vols. II-V of Campbell's Loeb *Greek Lyric*.

11 See L. Woodbury, "Aristophanes' *Frogs* and Athenian Literacy: *Ranae* 52-53, 1114," *TAPA* 106 (1976) 349-57, reprinted in *Collected Writings* (Atlanta 1991) 263-70.

12 See L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961); with Supplement by A. Johnston (1990).

13 There is an excellent discussion and bibliography by Rosalind Thomas, *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 1992).

that contemporary written copies of lyric poetry did not exist, especially for longer poems. It will be suggested later that the famous seal of Theognis refers to writing and a scholiast on Pindar's *Olympian* 7 informs us that a copy of the ode, written in letters of gold, was preserved in the temple of Athena in Lindus on Rhodes. Whether the latter is based on fact or not, it would surely not be surprising if the victor in one of the major games or his family sought to preserve the memory of the achievement by keeping a copy of the ode that celebrated it. The same would apply to poems on the death of a prominent individual and to other poems in which a family or state took particular pride.[14] It must be admitted, however, that the evidence is extremely slender and we cannot discount the possibility that short poems in particular of the early poets were transmitted orally before being committed to writing at a later time.

Occasion

The occasion for the performance of a lyric poem depended to a considerable degree on the kind of poetry involved. It can be safely assumed that much of iambic poetry and elegy was recited or sung at symposia[15] and the same can be said for many monodic poems. Alcaeus must have sung his verses before a sympotic gathering of like-minded aristocrats; however we explain the relationship between Sappho and her girls, her verses were presumably sung to a group of girls in a setting similar to that of the symposium, an essentially male institution; the symposium is a natural occasion for the singing of erotic monody and so for much of the remains of Ibycus and Anacreon and for such verses as Pindar fr. 124 and Bacchylides fr. 20B.

The other major occasion for the performance of poetry was at festivals, both public and private.[16] Some poems were clearly

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14 Pausanias (9.16.1) claims to have seen Pindar's hymm to Ammon (fr. 36) carved on a στήλη beside an altar dedicated to Ammon by Ptolemy.

15 For symposia see p. 92 with n. 1.

16 In general see R. Kannicht, "Thalia. Über den Zusammenhang zwischen Fest und Poesie bei den Griechen," in: W. Haug and R. Warning (edd.), *Das Fest* (Munich 1989) 29-52, and G. F. Gianotti, "La festa: la poesia corale," in: *Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica*, vol. 1, tomo 1 (Rome 1992) 143-75.

composed for competition, while others, such as epinicians, were commissioned. It seems that in most instances the poetry was monodic or choral, although rhapsodes could compete by reciting Archilochus[17] as well as Homer and Hesiod and there is evidence for elegiac competition.[18] Alcman's maiden-songs were obviously composed for religious festivals and festivals would be an obvious occasion for Stesichorus' poems on epic themes.[19] Presumably some poems, such as wedding-songs, could be either commissioned or offered freely as a token of friendship.

Poetry sung at funerals must have been a common occurrence, especially if the deceased was a prominent person. Such poetry seems to have been of two major types, the more formal and restrained dirge (θρῆνος), surviving only in a few fragments of Simonides (frr. 520-531) and Pindar (frr. 129-139), and the more personal and emotional lament (γόος). Both make their first appearance in literature in Homer's description of the funerals of Hector (*Il.* 24.720 ff.) and Achilles (*Od.* 24.58 ff.).[20] Although the content of the θρῆνος in these two passages is not revealed, we can infer something about the nature of the γόος from the words of Andromache, Hecuba and Helen in *Il.* 24.725 ff. In contrast to the γόος it is likely that in some instances the θρῆνος would be sung on one or more anniversaries of the person's death. Funerals could also be the occasion for poetic competition and not only lyric poetry was involved. Hesiod (*Opera* 650-59) proudly announces his victory in the funeral games[21] for Amphidamas at Chalcis and some speculate that the poem for which he won the prize was his *Theogony*.

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[17] See Plato *Ion* 531a, 532a and J. Herington, *Poetry into Drama* (Berkeley 1985) 10-15. One wonders what poems of Archilochus were recited by rhapsodes. His elegies? Herington 161-66 provides a convenient list of poetic contests at various festivals and W. J. Henderson, "Criteria in the Greek Lyric contests," *Mnemosyne* ser. 4, 42 (1989) 24-40, examines the criteria which determined success in these contests.

[18] See Henderson 30.

[19] In spite of the agonistic language in Alcman fr. 1 I doubt that competition was involved. For Stesichorus see L. E. Rossi, "Feste religiose e letteratura: Stesicoro o dell'epica alternativa," *Orpheus* n.s. 4 (1983) 5-31.

[20] There is a good discussion by A. E. Harvey, "The Classification of Greek Lyric Poetry," *CQ* n.s. 5 (1955) 157-75 on pp. 168-72. See also M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge 1974) 11-13, 102-3, and J. Danielewicz, "Towards an Understanding of the Chorus: Homer on Early Forms of Lyric Poetry," *Eos* 78 (1990) 55-62.

[21] In general see L. E. Roller, "Funeral Games for Historical Persons," *Stadion* 7 (1981) 1-18, although the emphasis is on athletics.

Finally, mention must be made of the important rôle played by the Greek tyrants in providing occasions, both at symposia and at more public celebrations, for poetic performance, even though their primary aim was propaganda and flattery.[22] Ibycus, Anacreon, Simonides, Pindar and Bacchylides were among those who enjoyed the patronage of tyrants.

The Poet's Voice

In recent years there has been a vigorous debate concerning the way in which statements, especially those in the first person, should be interpreted.[23] It was once fashionable to treat most of them as autobiographical and consequently to create from them an

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[22] See A. J. Podlecki, "Festivals and Flattery: the Early Greek Tyrants as Patrons of Poetry," *Athenaeum* n.s. 68 (1980) 371-95.

[23] What follows here barely scratches the surface of the debate, but the reader can obtain more information from consulting the works listed below.

Bonanno, M. G. "Sull'identità dell'io lirico nella poesia greca arcaica," in: B. Amata (ed.), *Cultura e lingue classiche* 3 (Rome 1993) 31-41.

Bowie, E. L. "Lies, Fiction and Slander in Early Greek Poetry," in: C. Gill and T. P. Wiseman (edd.), *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World* (Austin 1993) 1-37.

Diller, H. "Möglichkeiten subjektiver Aussage in der frühgriechischen Lyrik," *EEAth* 13 (1962-63) 558-66. Reprinted in: *Kleine Schriften zur antiken Literatur* (Munich 1971) 64-72.

Gentili, B. "L'io' nella poesia lirica greca," in: *Lirica greca e latina* (Rome 1990) = *AION (filol)* 12 (1990) 9-24.

Rösler, W. "Persona reale o persona poetica? L'interpretazione dell'io nella lirica greca arcaica," *QUCC* n.s. 19 (1985) 131-44.

Schneider, J. "Usage de la première personne et autobiographie dans la poésie lyrique archaïque," in: *L'invention de l'autobiographie d'Hésiode à Saint Augustin* (Paris 1993) 21-36.

Slings, S. R. (ed.), *The Poet's I in Archaic Greek Lyric* (Amsterdam 1990). Papers by S. R. Slings, "The I in Personal Archaic Lyric: an Introduction" (pp. 1-30), V. N. Jarcho, "Das poetische 'Ich' als gesellschaftlich-kommunikatives Symbol in der frühgriechischen Lyrik" (pp. 31-39) and J. M. Bremer, "Pindar's Paradoxical ἐγώ and a Recent Controversy about the Performance of his Epinicia" (pp. 41-58).

Stein, E. *Autorbewußtsein in der frühen griechischen Literatur* (Tübingen 1990). On Hesiod, Archilochus, Sappho and Anacreon.

Steinrück, M. *Rede und Kontext. Zum Verhältnis von Person und Erzähler in frühgriechischen Texten* (Bonn 1992). On Homer, Homeric Hymns, Archilochus, Sappho and Anacreon.

Tsagarakis, O. *Self-Expression in Early Greek Lyric, Elegiac and Iambic Poetry* (Wiesbaden 1977).

For Pindar see M. R. Lefkowitz, "The First Person in Pindar Reconsidered—Again," *BICS* 40 (1995) 139-50, and the bibliography listed there.

elaborate profile of the poet's life, character, and response to contemporary events. This in fact is not a modern phenomenon, but goes back to the Greeks themselves, especially to compilers of *vitae* and to the scholiasts.[24] The desire for biographical detail is understandable, since so much of Greek lyric is fragmentary or, as in the case of a poet such as Pindar, is couched in a language whose conventions are still often a matter of debate. It is only natural to want to know the innermost thoughts and the personal events in the lives of Archilochus or Sappho or Pindar, but in spite of the relatively substantial remains of their poetry this kind of information is seldom possible to obtain.

The 'I' in early lyric has sometimes been treated as a major distinction between epic and lyric.[25] Because the epic poet rarely speaks in the first person and the lyric poet often does, it has been argued that with the lyric poets we have a new self-awareness, an awakening of the poet's own personality. This, however, has rightly met with objections, primarily on two grounds. First, it assumes that lyric poetry did not exist before Archilochus, an assumption which is intrinsically unlikely. Given the variety of metres found in Archilochus and the skill with which he uses them, it is surely impossible to believe that he was the first lyric poet. He was the first only because his poetry is the earliest to have survived. Second, the supposed new self-awareness fails to take into account the difference in genre and occasion. Epic poetry by its very nature places the poet's voice in the background, whereas lyric poetry places it in the foreground. Epic poetry was recited at festivals before large gatherings, whereas most iambic, elegiac and monodic poetry was recited or sung in the intimate surroundings of the symposium.

There remains the question of the extent to which the 'I' in lyric poetry is simply representative of the views held by the audience, is a highly personal statement which may in fact be opposed to the views of at least some members of the audience, or is playing a fictional rôle. These approaches are not mutually exclusive, in part because genre and occasion can be significant. It is obvious, for example, that when Solon defends his reforms he is expressing views which are not universally held. It also makes a difference

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24 See M. R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (London 1981), and chapters 2, 3, 5 and 6 in her *First-Person Fictions. Pindar's Poetic 'I'* (Oxford 1991).

25 On this topic see especially R. L. Fowler, *The Nature of Early Greek Lyric: Three Preliminary Studies* (Toronto 1987) 3-52, 105-17.

whether the poet is merely entertaining his audience or is exhorting his listeners to a particular course of action or outlook. Interpretation of the 'I', however, is often hampered by the lack of context and by the fragmentary nature of what has survived. If it were not for Aristotle, we would not know that the 'I' of Arch. fr. 19 belongs to the carpenter Charon, but even so we still do not know why the poet did this, nor do we know whether Charon is real or fictional.[26]

Classification

The problems associated with any attempt to explain the distinctive features of the various types of lyric poetry are well stated on the first page of Harvey's classic article[27] on the subject: "It is not that there is still too little information; under some heads it is as full as we could wish. But it is information of the wrong sort. It tells us, not of the differences between certain types of poetry which were important when the poetry was written, but only of those differences which were regarded as distinctive when it came to be edited. It reflects, not the original principles of artistic composition, but the posterior principles of Alexandrian classification." These problems are compounded by the fragmentary nature of so much of what has survived, the uncertainty of the occasion for which a particular poem was composed, and the imprecise and varying significance attached to certain words used to describe a particular type of poetry. In view of this any attempt to define the different types of poetry in a few words would be both superficial and misleading. I therefore limit myself to providing bibliographic assistance, with emphasis on recent publications which list earlier works on the subject.

Harvey is excellent on the general problems associated with classification, but he discusses specifically only the paean, scolion, encomium, hymn and threnody or dirge. The most thorough treatment in English remains that of H. W. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets* (London 1906) xxiii-cxxiv, although, as Harvey points out, he fails to take account of "the divergence between the original and

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[26] The question of fiction looms large in discussions of Archilochus' epodes, especially fr. 196a. Pp. 31-35 of Bowie's article listed in n. 23 above are particularly important.

[27] See n. 20 above.

the Alexandrian poetic terminology" (p. 157). The hymn has been well treated in *L'inno tra rituale e letteratura nel mondo antico* (Rome 1991), especially the contributions by Bernardini (pp. 85-94), Gostoli (pp. 95-105), Grandolini (pp. 125-40, on the prosodion) and Privitera (pp. 141-53, on the dithyramb). The dithyramb is also discussed in the introduction to M. J. H. Van der Weiden, *The Dithyrambs of Pindar* (Amsterdam 1991) 1-33, and by B. Zimmermann, *Dithyrambos. Geschichte einer Gattung* (Göttingen 1992). For the hyporcheme see M. Di Marco, "Osservazioni sull'iporchema," *Helikon* 13-14 (1973-74) 326-48, for wedding-songs see E. Contiades-Tsitsoni, *Hymenaios und Epithalamion. Das Hochzeitslied in der frühgriechischen Lyrik* (Stuttgart 1990), for the paean see L. Käppel, *Paian. Studien zur Geschichte einer Gattung* (Berlin 1992), and I. Rutherford, *Pindar's Hymns to Apollo* (Oxford 1997), for threnody see the introduction to M. Cannatà Fera, *Pindaro, Trenodie* (Rome 1990) 7-46, and for the partheneion or maiden-song see C. Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque, I: Morphologie, fonction religieuse et sociale* (Rome 1977); English translation by J. Orion and D. Collins, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece* (Lanham 1997).

Douglas E. Gerber

IAMBOS

by

Christopher G. Brown

INTRODUCTION

Iambos is first attested in seventh-century Ionia in the poetic remains of Archilochus and Semonides, and again with Hipponax towards the end of the sixth century B. C. These poets constitute the ancient canon of iambographers, and the poems of Archilochus at least quickly established themselves as 'classics' and were performed at festivals alongside the Homeric poems.[1] In addition, we know of minor figures, such as Ananius and Hermippus; poets who were better known for their work in other genres may also have written ἴαμβοι from time to time.[2] More than is the case with most genres of ancient poetry the origins of ἴαμβος seem to be discernible and, moreover, those origins seem to be important for understanding the character of Ionian ἴαμβος. Accordingly, the present section will offer an overview of the question, setting out an account of the genre that will inform the discussions of the central early iambographers that follow.

ἴαμβος is a word of uncertain etymology; the -αμβ- root, perhaps indicative of pre-Greek origins, aligns ἴαμβος with διθύραμβος, θρίαμβος, and likely ἴθυμβος—all terms that suggest the worship of Dionysus, but shed little light on the precise significance of ἴαμβος.[3] The most common modern understanding of the word is as a metrical term referring to the iamb, a unit of metrical movement (⏑ –). This usage is first clearly attested in Plato's *Republic* (400b7), where Socrates applies the term ἴαμβος to a rhythm εἰς

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[1] The earliest evidence for this is Heracl. fr. 30 Marcovich = 21 B 42 DK: τόν τε Ὅμηρον ἔφασκεν ἄξιον ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐκβάλλεσθαι καὶ ῥαπίζεσθαι καὶ Ἀρχίλοχον ὁμοίως. It is a mark of his high standing that Archilochus is here mentioned alongside Homer. The association with Homer and poetic ἀγῶνες is also attested at Pl. *Ion* 530d. On the evidence for the performance of iambic poetry in the fourth century, see K. Bartol, *CQ* 42 (1992) 65-71. The establishment of the list of three canonical iambographers seems to be due to Aristarchus: cf. Quint. 10.1.59; see Degani, *Studi* 96 n. 74.

[2] Anacreon is the most salient example: see especially fr. 44 Gentili = fr. iamb. 5 West[2], which is quoted from an ἴαμβος.

[3] For a summary of the various ancient and modern etymological discussions, see Frisk, *GEW* 1.704; Chantraine, *DELG* 453; D. A. Hester, *Lingua* 13 (1965) 354-355. A particularly useful discussion (with the emphasis on θρίαμβος) is to be found in H. S. Versnel, *Triumphus* (Leiden 1970) 16-38. διθύραμβος and θρίαμβος will be considered below; the evidence for ἴθυμβος, however, sheds no light on ἴαμβος, and so discussion of that term has been omitted.

βραχύ τε καὶ μακρὸν γιγνόμενον ('passing into a short and a long').[4] In this passage it is clear that Socrates is using—not without irony[5]—the metrical terminology employed by Damon.[6] That Socrates qualifies the use of ἴαμβος here (καί, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, ἴαμβον ...) seems to suggest that the usage is specialized and unfamiliar to him. Perhaps more helpful here, at first sight at least, is Herodotus, who notes that Archilochus mentioned Gyges ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ (1.12.2). If, as seems probable, Herodotus has in mind fr. 19 (οὔ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει κτλ.), it can be argued that ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ denotes the iambic metre of Archilochus' poem.[7] This inference, however, is far from certain. Other authorities use ἴαμβος with less apparent precision. Aristotle, for example, uses ἴαμβος to refer both to fr. 19 and to fr. 122, which is in trochaic tetrameters. Such inconsistencies seem to indicate that the metrical reference is secondary, and that the primary significance of ἴαμβος lies elsewhere.

It has proved to be more fruitful to understand ἴαμβος as a term referring to a particular kind of poem, of which the iambic rhythm was characteristic. Such a view receives strong support from Plato's *Ion* (524e) in which ἴαμβοι are listed along with a number of poetic forms: διθύραμβοι, ἐγκώμια, ὑπορχήματα, and ἔπη.[8] The defining feature of ἴαμβοι was almost certainly not metre, but the character of these poems, which was probably encouraged by the occasion at which they were performed. Aristotle seems to suggest this in a passage that may also contain the earliest attempt at an etymology of ἴαμβος. At *Poet.* 1448^{b}31 he offers an explanation of τὸ ἰαμβεῖον μέτρον: διὸ καὶ ἰαμβεῖον καλεῖται νῦν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ μέτρῳ τούτῳ ἰάμβιζον ἀλλήλους. The subject of ἰάμβιζον is the εὐτελέστεροι, contrasted with the σεμνότεροι who composed ὕμνοι καὶ ἐγκώμια (1448^{b}27). According to Aristotle, Homer, who was included in both categories, was the first poet of this type, but the

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[4] The language here is difficult: see Adam (*ad loc.*) for discussion.

[5] Cf. 400b3, οἶμαι δέ με ἀκηκοέναι οὐ σαφῶς ... ὀνομάζοντος αὐτοῦ ... .

[6] On Damon, see R. Pfeiffer, *A History of Classical Scholarship* 1 (Oxford 1967) 53; M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992) 243 f. (with helpful discussion of the *Republic* passage).

[7] This is how the passage was understood by Rufin. *Comm. in metr. Terent.* 27 (Keil, *Gr. Lat.* 6.563), but by that time ἴαμβος was well established in its familiar modern sense.

[8] In her recent commentary (*Plato on Poetry* [Cambridge 1996] 120) P. Murray strangely remarks: "... the only kind of poetry in this list to be designated by metre."

later Peripatetics named Archilochus.[9] As early as the fifth century B.C., ἰαμβίζω meant "to satirize" or "lampoon" without any suggestion of the iambic metre.[10] Particularly revealing is the anecdote concerning Gorgias preserved by Athenaeus (11.505d = DK 82 A 15a): λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ ὁ Γοργίας, αὐτὸς ἀναγνοὺς τὸν ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ διάλογον πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις ἔφη· "ὡς καλῶς οἶδε Πλάτων ἰαμβίζειν." The anecdote may be apocryphal; Diels and Kranz print it among the A-passages, which are not regarded as the *ipsissima uerba* of Gorgias, and, apart from the vague λέγεται, Athenaeus names no authority for the story.[11] It is not impossible, however, that the story has some historical basis: Plato's dialogue is generally considered to have been written ca 387 B.C. and could have been read by Gorgias before his death in 376. If the story is genuine, we have a relatively early instance of ἰαμβίζω used of a prose-work. Moreover, it is tempting to suggest that Gorgias may have been implying invective of the sort for which Archilochus was famous, for in the anecdote which follows the one under discussion Gorgias refers to Plato as νέος ... Ἀρχίλοχος. The idea of a work in prose sharing the character of Archilochian ἴαμβος seems to have been developed in the Hellenistic period by Asopodorus of Phlius, who is said to have written iamboi in prose (καταλογάδην ἴαμβοι, Athen. 445b).[12]

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9 Cf. Brink on Hor. *Ars* 79 (*Horace on Poetry* 2 [Cambridge 1971] 168). On the various πρῶτοι εὑρεταί of literary genres in Horace's *Ars*, see H. D. Jocelyn, *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 2 (1979) 76-77.

10 It should be noted that the meaning "to talk in iambics" offered by *LSJ* s.v. II is likely a mirage. The only instance cited is Luc. *JTr.* 33 where the text is doubtful; Macleod prints τραγῳδῶν (γ) in preference to ἰαμβίζων (β).

11 This stands in sharp contrast to the following anecdote which is cited on the authority of Hermippus, *FHG* 3.48 (see below).

12 The *testimonia* for Asopodorus are set out by West, *IEG*^{2} 2.46; cf. *SH* 46 and 222. The idea of prose ἴαμβοι is perhaps surprising, and it may well have arisen through a misunderstanding of a passage that spoke of the character of ἴαμβοι. An interesting parallel for this may be found in Call. fr. 112.9 Pf., where the poet, looking back on the *Aetia*, says αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Μουσέων πεζὸν [ἔ]πειμι νομόν. Although the 'prose pasture of the Muses' has often been understood to refer to Callimachus' prose works, it is more compelling to recognize here a reference to his *Iamboi;* the adjective πεζός will thus refer either to the performance of ἴαμβοι without music or, alternatively, to the lower stylistic level of such poems (cf. *Musa pedestris* of satire, Hor. *Serm.* 2.6.17): see A. Cameron, *Callimachus and his Critics* (Princeton 1995) 143 f. A similar use of language in Asopodorus could have led ancient commentators to the conclusion that his poems were in fact in prose, especially since Asopodorus' works seems to have been little known in later antiquity.

From Aristotle's remarks we may infer a semantic connection between the verb ἰαμβίζω and the noun ἴαμβος. Aristotle appears to regard ἰαμβεῖος and perhaps, by implication, ἴαμβος as derivatives of ἰαμβίζω. As etymology this is most unlikely, since verbs in -ίζω are typically formed from nouns.[13] What is significant, however, is the meaning attached to the words: Aristotle sees abuse, not metrical form, as the essence of the word, and this aspect of ἴαμβος seems also to be implicit in Iambe, a figure who appears to be an eponym for the genre, as well as our earliest evidence for it.

That ἴαμβος was derived from an eponym was perhaps the most common explanation offered in antiquity.[14] Although such an approach contributes little of value to our understanding of the word itself, it is arguably more revealing of the nature and origin of the literary genre than all of the rival etymologies suggested by ancient scholars. Iambe is central; through her we may gain some understanding of the background and character of early ἴαμβος.

Iambe is an interesting figure in both myth and cult. Although the tradition is not uniform, she is generally set in the context of the cult of Demeter and is seen as providing an αἴτιον for ritual αἰσχρολογία, the use of language under ritual licence that would otherwise have been judged improper or obscene.[15] Ritual αἰσχρολογία, then, may be related to ἴαμβος.[16]

Iambe first occurs in the section of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter which takes place in the palace of Celeus at Eleusis.[17] At

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[13] See E. Risch, *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache*² (Berlin/New York 1974) 298 ff.

[14] The *testimonia* concerning Iambe have been assembled by Gerhard, *RE* 9.652 f.; cf. also Jacoby, *FGrHist* 3b (Suppl.) 1.422, 2.342.

[15] The evidence concerning ritual αἰσχρολογία has been collected by H. Fluck, *Skurrile Riten im griechischen Kult* (diss. Endingen 1931); see also Burkert, *GR* 103-105; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford 1896-1909) 3.104; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*³ (Munich 1967) 1.590-594; H. Herter, *Vom dionysischen Tanz zum komischen Spiel* (Iserlohn 1947) *passim*; G. Giangrande, *Eranos* 61 (1963) 1-24.

[16] See West, *Studies* 23 f.; N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974) 214.

[17] The bibliography on the Homeric Hymn is extensive. The fundamental treatment is Richardson (above, note 16); see also F. Càssola, *Inni omerici* (Milan 1975) 23-77, 466-485 (useful bibliography, pp. 35 f.); H. P. Foley (ed.), *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Princeton 1994). On the religious implications of the Hymn, see the discussions by Nilsson (above, note 15) 1.653-663; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Berkeley 1983) 248-298 (the most penetrating treatment of the Mysteries in general); F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (*RGVV* 33: Berlin/ New York 1974); K. Clinton, *Myth and Cult: the Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Stockholm 1992) 28 ff.

lines 188 ff. Demeter reaches the door of the house; as she sets foot on the threshold a brief epiphany occurs, filling the doorway with divine radiance (189).[18] Metaneira, Celeus' wife, responds appropriately, being seized by αἰδώς, σέβας and δέος (190); she offers her κλισμός to the goddess, but Demeter refuses. Implicit in Metaneira's offer is the recognition of the goddess' superior status. This is not to say that Metaneira becomes aware of Demeter's true nature; for the remarkable thing about this passage is that, while there are all the elements of a full-scale epiphany in the doorway, there is only a partial comprehension on the part of the household of Celeus of the presence of divinity. Metaneira's emotional response is appropriate to divinity, but intellectually she merely infers that Demeter is high-born (οὐ σε κακῶν ἄπ' ἔολπα τοκήων / ἔμμεναι ἀλλ' ἀγαθῶν, 213-214). It is only with the goddess' departure (275 ff.) that she is fully revealed as a deity; Metaneira's response is correspondingly intense (280 f.).

In the account of the Hymn Iambe intervenes twice in the exchanges between Demeter and Metaneira. Demeter refuses the κλισμός of Metaneira and will sit only when offered the πηκτὸν ἕδος by Iambe. This refusal suggests an inversion. Metaneira's offer seems to establish a norm: in the judgment of the mistress of the household Demeter is entitled to the seat of authority. The precise nature of the πηκτὸν ἕδος or δίφρον (198) is uncertain; that it is a humble stool of some sort is a probable conjecture.[19]

Iambe receives no formal introduction in the Hymn. We are thus given little aid in determining what sort of figure we are to imagine. It is clear that she is important in cult, but her precise rôle is difficult to determine. The suggestion of line 205,[20]

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[18] For epiphanies of this sort, see Richardson 208 f.; full collection of material in Pfister, *RE Suppl.* 4.314.

[19] Richardson (218) notes that in epic ἕδος is most commonly used of places and that πηκτός is used in Homer only of a plough. "The 'jointed seat'," he concludes, "is thus something unusual."

[20] The implications of this line are clear: the occasion mentioned was not the only time that Iambe cheered Demeter; she did so in later cult as well. The language of the line, however, is somewhat puzzling. The chief difficulty is ὀργαῖς and its meaning. In his note on the line Richardson assembles the early evidence and concludes that the basic meaning of the word is "disposition, character" (to his passages add Tyrt. fr. 11.8 West, εὖ δ' ὀργὴν ἐδάητ' ἀργαλέου πολέμου); on ὀργή, see also W. Marg, *Der Charakter in der Sprache der frühgriechischen Dichtung*² (Darmstadt 1967) 13 f.; L. Woodbury, *TAPA* 111 (1981) 247 = *Collected Writings* 386. In the present passage it seems to mean something less intrinsic to the individual, viz. "mood." See LSJ s.v.; Pind. *Pyth.*

ἢ δή οἱ καὶ ἔπειτα μεθύστερον εὔαδεν ὀργαῖς,

is confirmed by later *testimonia*. The formula κέδν' εἰδυῖα, which describes Iambe in line 202, may suggest that she is a servant or slave (cf. Hom. *Od.* 1.428, etc.). In the later tradition she is regularly described as θεραπαίνη or θεραπίς (see below). Such a description may reflect a well-established tradition or it may merely be an inference based on the language of the Hymn. That Iambe should be regarded as some sort of servant would be appropriate to the treatment of Demeter's visit to the household of Celeus in the Hymn, in view of its emphasis on inversion of normal procedure. After entering the house the goddess does not speak at all (ἀκέουσα, 194); she does not even appear to acknowledge Metaneira's offer (ἔμιμνε κατ' ὄμματα καλὰ βαλοῦσα, 194). It is only when Iambe intervenes with the πηκτὸν ἕδος that the goddess begins to interact with those who have received her. There is an inversion in the passage: consequently, it is not surprising that Demeter should respond to a lowly member of the household. In this light, we are meant to see the πηκτὸν ἕδος in opposition to the κλισμός, and so Iambe stands in opposition to Metaneira as servant to mistress.

It is clear that the offer of the πηκτὸν ἕδος reflects some ritual event; much of the action of the narrative in the Hymn seems to reflect cultic activity, and in the present episode line 205 is explicitly aetiological. Iambe's offer seems similar to the θρόνωσις at the Lesser Mysteries, but in the classical period the mythic αἴτιον seems to have been the initiation of Heracles in preparation for his κατάβασις.[21] Accordingly, it may be that Iambe was associated with some sort of preliminary initiation in the cult of Demeter, although it is far from certain that the cult assumed by the Hymn is the Eleusinian Mysteries.[22]

9.43, *Isth.* 1.59, 2.35; especially Cratinus fr. 248 *PCG*. The plural, however, is still puzzling. It may be that it refers to the mood of one person at different times; such an understanding would suit well the idea of repetition of the act in cult.

[21] On the θρόνωσις, see Burkert, *HN* 266-269. The well-known scene in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (254-268) seems to be a parody of the rite: see A. Dieterich, *RhM* 48 (1893) 275-283 = *Kl. Schr.* 117-124. On Heracles' association with the Lesser Mysteries, see Burkert, *HN* 267 with n. 11, for the literary and archaeological evidence. Heracles' association with the Mysteries seems to go back at least to the sixth century B.C.

[22] Many details in the poem seem to suggest Eleusis, and the *Hymn* has often been treated as a kind of blueprint for Eleusinian ritual: see Richardson 12 ff. Clinton, *OAth* 16 (1986) 43-49, and above, note 17, has argued that the

More directly relevant to our discussion of ἴαμβος, however, is Iambe's second intervention in the Hymn. Once seated upon the πηκτὸν ἕδος, the goddess remains silent and will interact with no one, nor will she accept food. In other words, she will engage in none of the activities normally connected with hospitality.[23] It is at this point that Iambe intervenes again. Demeter sits consumed by longing for her daughter (202-204):

> πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ χλεύῃς μιν Ἰάμβη κέδν' εἰδυῖα
> πολλὰ παρὰ σκώπτουσ' ἐτρέψατο πότνιαν ἁγνὴν
> μειδῆσαι γελάσαι τε καὶ ἵλαον σχεῖν θυμόν.

As in the case of her first intervention, Iambe's actions are introduced with a πρίν-clause; her actions cause the goddess to smile (μειδῆσαι), laugh out loud (γελάσαι) and to have a propitious heart (ἵλαον σχεῖν θυμόν). Line 204 deftly suggests a progression as the goddess' grief gives way first to a smile, then to laughter. ἵλαον σχεῖν θυμόν, however, does not mean simply "rasserenare il suo cuore," as Càssola renders it.[24] ἵλαος is the *uox propria* for the propitious mood of a divinity.[25] The notion of propitiousness may

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poem is more concerned with the Thesmophoria, and indeed other *testimonia* concerning Iambe seem to point in that direction too (see below).

23 It is interesting to contrast Odysseus' entry into the society of the Phaeacians (*Od.* 7.135 ff.). Odysseus promptly supplicates Arete, a figure analogous to Metaneira. The parallels between this passage and Demeter's reception at Eleusis are striking. In both cases a stranger is greeted by a daughter of the local king (both are apparently homeless wanderers) and brought by that daughter to her mother from whom the stranger expects to get some sort of help. These considerations make Demeter's silence the more extraordinary, for she has earlier expressed her need. On the *Odyssey* passage, see S. Reece, *The Stranger's Welcome: Oral Theory and the Aesthetics of the Homeric Hospitality Scene* (Ann Arbor 1993) 101 ff.

24 Càssola (above, note 17) 55. Cf. also (e.g.) "cheer her heart" (Evelyn-White, Loeb ed. p. 303); "... have a gracious temper" (A. N. Athanassakis, *The Homeric Hymns* [Baltimore 1976] 7). Concerning the present passage, *LSJ* (s.v. II 'of men' [!]) notes "almost = ἱλαρός" (the citation of Pl. *Sym.* 206d is hardly apposite).

25 So Richardson 223. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.583; Hes. *Erga* 340; Arch. frr. 94.2, 108.2 West²; Thgn. 782; Pind. *Ol.* 3.34; Aesch. *Eum.* 1040; Soph. *OC* 1480; Ar. *Thes.* 1148; Theoc. 5.18 (with Gow's note) and 15.143-144; the word is also applied to men: see *LSJ* s.v. II. In his note on *H.Dem.* 204 Richardson incorrectly understands the adjective as meaning 'cheerful' in Arch. fr. 23.10 West², θυμὸν ἵλαον τίθεο. The context in the fragment is unclear; see West, *Studies* 118-120, for a possible reconstruction. It seems that the speaker is seeking to persuade a woman (if γύνα[ι] is the correct restoration of line 8: see Tarditi's more conservative text [fr. 54.8], where other suggestions are recorded in the *apparatus*). In this light the phrase in question seems to mean "make your

be implicit in μειδῆσαι as well. A smile in the presence of a mortal seems to signify that the divinity is well disposed to the mortal.[26]

The means by which Iambe achieves this transformation of the goddess' mood are noteworthy. Commentators regularly undercut the remarkable nature of Iambe's actions by rendering χλεύῃς ... πολλὰ ... σκώπτουσ' (e.g.) "with her jokes and many jests."[27] Translations of this sort reflect the dignity of the epic treatment of the episode, for it seems the case that the poet is treating something ἀπρεπές with great restraint; there is little place for obscenity in the language of epic. But these translations do obscure the fact that the words do not refer only to neutral jesting and jokes; they can be used of personal insult.[28] Could this be the implication of the Hymn? If so, we are presented with a highly unusual turn of events: a goddess receiving insults without taking offence, a goddess who even appears to derive pleasure from this treatment. Such a situation would be an inversion of normal attitudes.[29] Divinities should be treated with respect and propitiated with gentle and

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heart well disposed" (i.e. to the speaker's case). The meaning is thus similar to that proposed for *H.Dem.* 204.

26 On the smile of a divinity, see M. Puelma, *MH* 17 (1960) 148-150 with note 17; F. Williams, *CQ* 21 (1971) 144 with note 1; cf. also Richardson on *H.Dem.* 357; Gow on Theoc. 1.95 f.

27 Athanassakis (above, note 24) 7; cf. "scherzando continuamente" (Càssola [above, note 24] 55); "with many a quip and jest" (Evelyn-White [above, note 24] 303).

28 See LSJ s.vv.; Arist. *Rhet.* 1379a 31 (and 35); Epicrates fr. 11.30 *PCG*: ἦ που δεινῶς ὠργίσθησαν χλευάζεσθαί τ' ἐβόησαν (picking up κατέπαρδ' αὐτῶν ὡς ληρούντων; for καταπέρδομαι used of strong contempt, see J. Taillardat, *Les images d'Aristophane*² [Paris 1965] 332 f.; MacDowell on Ar. *Vesp.* 394; J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse*² [New York 1991] 197); Aeschro fr. 4.3-4 *SH* = 3-4 Gow-Page *HE*, μή μ' ... / χλεύην τε ποιεῦ καὶ γέλωτα καὶ λάσθην (implies contempt); Anon. Pap. (Cercidas?) fr. 18 ii 4-5 Powell (*CA* p. 217), ... ο]ὐδὲ μέμνηνται / θεοῦ δικαίης ἀλλά [νιν] [χλ]ευάζουσιν (of malefactors; χλευάζουσιν means "mock").

29 Cf. Eub. fr. 25.2-3 PCG (of the tyrant Dionysius), τοῖς σκώπτουσι δὲ / ἑαυτὸν εὐόργητος. This may be a sign of perversity (compare the ape-woman in Sem. fr. 7.79 West, οὐδέ οἱ γέλως μέλει). Failure to maintain one's dignity by responding to insults is a sign of the depravity of the parasite in comedy: Antiphanes fr. 80.9 *PCG*, ... ὀργὴν ἐνεγκεῖν ἀγαθός· ἂν σκώπτῃς, γελᾷ; Nicolarus Com. fr. 1.31 f. *PCG* (advice to a parasite), ἔπειτα δεῖ σκωπτόμενον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ γελᾶν· /αἰσχρὸν γὰρ οἶμαι δοῦλον εἶναι σκώμματος. This is hardly meant to be an admirable character-trait. Similarly, failure to respond to insults is a sign of extreme obstinacy: Cephisodorus fr. 1 *PCG*, σκώπτεις μ', ἐγὼ δὲ τοῖς λόγοις ὄνος ὕομαι (for the ass as the image of stubbornness and obstinacy, cf. Cratinus fr. 56 *PCG*; Taillardat 255; R. Kassel, *RhM* 116 [1973] 109-112).

appropriate words. Myth tells of the anger of the gods directed against mortals who have failed in this regard.[30]

On the view outlined here, Demeter's reaction to Iambe's second intervention is consonant with the mood of inversion that characterizes the episode as a whole. Our understanding of the scene may also shed some light on ἴαμβος. Personal abuse and invective were regarded as salient features of the iambographer's art. Accordingly, it is attractive to see this in a myth which concerns the personification of the genre itself. Yet however attractive such a view may be, it is very difficult to prove it on the basis of the text of the Hymn alone. The epic treatment of the material is in itself too neutral to allow us to determine with any precision the implications of the words employed in the narration.

It may be helpful in this regard to consider the later *testimonia* concerning Iambe and her dealings with Demeter. In the standard mythological handbook attributed to Apollodorus we find an account which is very similar to that preserved in the Hymn (1.5.1): Iambe is described as an old woman who made the goddess smile with her jokes or insults (γραῖά τις Ἰάμβη σκώψασα τὴν θεὸν ἐποίησε μειδιᾶσαι). This passage, however, connects the episode at Celeus' house explicitly with the Thesmophoria, a festival in which αἰσχρολογία is well attested. The relevance of the myth to αἰσχρολογία is made clear by Diodorus of Sicily in his discussion of the Sicilian Thesmophoria (5.4.7):[31] it is the custom, he writes, during these days to say shameful things (αἰσχρολογεῖν) in their dealings with each other because the goddess, grieving over the abduction of Core, was made to laugh through αἰσχρολογία. It is unfortunate that no myth is narrated, for it is possible that a local Sicilian version lurks behind Diodorus' text, especially in view of the special connections of the myths of the abduction of Persephone with Sicily.[32] If such were the case, the myth would provide

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[30] It is interesting to compare Ceres' treatment of Ascalabus, who, in Ovid's version (*Met.* 5.446-461), mocks the goddess as she drinks the κυκεών (*constitit ante deam risitque auidamque uocauit*); the goddess' angry response is to transform the boy into a lizard. It is noteworthy that ΣNic. *Ther.* 483 appears to confuse Ascalabus with Iambe. For other sources for this myth, see Richardson p. 215.

[31] Diodorus' source seems to be Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F 164; see Jacoby *ad loc.* (*ibid.* 3b [*Komm.*] 1.593 f., 2.346 f.).

[32] As would be suggested by Carcinus *TrGF* 70 F 5, quoted by Diodorus just after the passage cited above.

a Sicilian Iambe, and there is evidence to suggest other local treatments of the myth.

In his discussion of κανθαρίς (blister-beetle), a rather potent poison,[33] Nicander names γληχώ (pennyroyal) as an antidote. This affords an opportunity to mention the κυκεών along with a tantalizing reference to Iambe, who is said to be Thracian (*Alex.* 128-132).[34] The details of this version are far from clear. The scene is located at the house of Hippothoon, not Celeus. The scholiast to the passage assumes that Hippothoon was a name of Metaneira's husband.[35] If this is correct, the drink mentioned may be the κυκεών which Demeter drinks in the Hymn after she has been cheered by Iambe (206-209). Such an understanding is certainly possible: γληχώ is one of the traditional ingredients of the κυκεών. On this sort of view, we have the traditional Eleusinian tale preserved with a minor variant (i.e., Hippothoon substituted for Celeus). This explanation, however, is not very satisfactory. While γληχώ is indeed one of the ingredients of the κυκεών mentioned in the Hymn (209), it is not the only substance named nor is it the most important; barley seems to have been crucial.[36] Furthermore, the substitution of Hippothoon for Celeus is strange; Hippothoon was a figure well established in legend as the son of Poseidon and Alope, an eponym for an Attic tribe. It is, therefore, very possible that Nicander is alluding to another local myth in which an αἴτιον was given for the drinking of the κυκεών and perhaps for the αἰσχρολογία in a local cult of Demeter, although this latter point may take the implications of Nicander's text too far.

Nicander gives virtually no details concerning the actions of Iambe in this passage. There is no mention of Demeter's smile or laughter, but this is hardly surprising since the point of the passage is the κυκεών. In other versions Demeter accepts the drink only after she has been made to relax from her grief. Perhaps more important, there is no suggestion of obscenity; Demeter consumed the ritual drink Θρῄσσης ἀθύροισιν ὑπὸ ῥήτρῃσιν Ἰάμβης, and this means no more than that Iambe talked incessantly. Nothing is said of the substance of her discourse.

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[33] See Gow and Schofield on Nic. *Ther.* 755.

[34] A Thracian origin is also recorded by Proclus (*Chrest.* 242.27 ff.) in a discussion of the etymology of ἴαμβος. The version of the myth there assumed is the familiar Eleusinian account.

[35] ΣNic. *Alex.* 130a (p. 71 Geymonat); cf. ΣNic. *Ther.* 484c and ΣEur. *Or.* 964.

[36] For the κυκεών, see Richardson 344-348.

In response to the compression of Nicander's account, the scholiast offers a fuller version (p. 72.13 Geymonat = ΣEur. *Or.* 964), which presents an elaboration that conforms to the details of the familiar Eleusinian myth. In this text we also have an explicit connection of Iambe with ἴαμβος, although the basis of this association is the assumption that ἴαμβος refers to metre and that indicates post-classical attitudes towards ἴαμβος. It is perhaps noteworthy that the word σκώμματα is used of Iambe's utterance, although that term may tell us more of the character of the scholiast's source for the myth than of the myth assumed by Nicander. In addition to a Thracian origin, the scholiast also preserves a striking parentage for Iambe: she is said to be the daughter of Pan and Echo. That detail recurs in an entry in the *Et. Gen.* (p. 160 Reiske): Σελεύκου· Ἰάμβη· τινὲς ὅτι Ἰάμβη Ἠχοῦς καὶ Πανὸς θυγάτηρ ⟨**⟩ τὴν Δήμητραν δὲ λυπουμένην παίζουσα καὶ ἀχρηστολογοῦσα καὶ σχήματα ἄχρηστα ποιοῦσα ἐποίησε γελάσαι. The parentage here accorded to Iambe is noteworthy, and is also repeated in a late mythological handbook on the authority of Philochorus.[37] This detail is, nonetheless, puzzling; it may indicate that Iambe, like her mother, was connected with utterance. It is also remarkable that the *Et. Gen.* adds another novel detail: Iambe's intervention is not exclusively verbal, but physical as well. The feature may be significant, recalling details of the tradition of Baubo, the Orphic counterpart to Iambe, who performed some kind of ἀνάσυρμα.[38]

Another local account of Iambe seems to have been used by Philicus in his *Hymn to Demeter,* a poem that was conspicuous for its use of the choriambic hexameter to which Philicus bequeathed his name.[39] In a long papyrus fragment Demeter is greeted by women —perhaps goddesses—with obeisance and a shower of leaves (and so φυλλοβολία, it would seem), unusual treatment for a goddess.[40] At this point Iambe appears, reproaching the women for their

[37] Natal. Com. *Myth.* 3.16 (p. 245 Genev) = Philoch. *FGrHist* 328 F 103. If this detail was to be found in Philochorus, it is unlikely that it was presented as his own view: see Jacoby, *ibid.* 3b (*Suppl.*) 1.422.

[38] For Baubo, see Graf (above, note 17) 194 ff.

[39] The extant remains of the poem are edited by Lloyd-Jones and Parsons as frr. 677-680 *SH.* I have discussed this poem in detail (with reference to earlier literature) in *Aegyptus* 70 (1990) 173-189.

[40] For the implications of the details here, see my paper (above, note 39) 184 ff.; for φυλλοβολία, see now Hollis on Call. *Hec.* fr. 69.11 ff. = 288 *SH* = 260 Pfeiffer.

treatment of Demeter and then addressing the goddess herself in a speech that is regrettably incomplete. Although the poem seems to have concerned the cult of Demeter at Hermione, there is a certain reference to Eleusis in fr. 680.36 *SH*, and Iambe has an Attic origin, from the coastal deme of Halimous. Accordingly, we may have an αἴτιον for aspects of the Thesmophoria at Halimous. It is unclear from the papyrus texts that we are dealing with αἰσχρολογία, although such a view is not implausible. Iambe makes a speech to the goddess, but the papyrus gives out just as she begins to outline what her speech will accomplish (ἐγὼ δὲ λύσω ... [fr. 680.62] is very tantalizing). Philicus seems to refer to it as a γελοῖος λόγος told to σεμνοί (55); in some contexts γέλως refers not merely to the humorous but to the abusive as well.[41] An abusive side to Iambe's character, as presented by Philicus, is perhaps suggested by the rather harsh rebuke to the women (56 ff.). In what survives of the speech there seems to be a somewhat more colloquial tone, although nothing that can be labelled obscene.

If the Homeric Hymn and Philicus' Hymn are concerned with different cults, it may be possible to make some inferences concerning the rôle of Iambe in the cult of Demeter generally. Although both passages seem to imply αἰσχρολογία, the circumstances differ. In the Homeric Hymn Iambe was linked with the preliminary initiation and the drinking of the κυκεών; in Philicus' poem she speaks after a strange obeisance and φυλλοβολία. It was suggested that the earlier poem implies a speech of abuse, an inference which finds some support in the other references to Iambe and Demeter surveyed above, all of which imply an utterance of some sort. If Philicus' Iambe makes a speech suggestive of αἰσχρολογία, his narrative may reflect a similar pattern, according to which αἰσχρολογία occurs at a time when normal behaviour is inverted or at least strained. In this light, if ἴαμβος is related to the cultic activity associated with Iambe, it may well be that ἴαμβοι originated during a period of ritual license in which normal values were suspended and one could say what was not normally permitted. From most of the *testimonia* concerning Iambe, we can infer that these utterances took the form of abuse, and that is consonant with those authorities that hold that invective was the salient feature of early ἴαμβος.

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[41] See the discussion of Arch. fr. 172, below (pp. 55-57).

We have hitherto examined the ritual occasions with which Iambe and, by implication, ἴαμβος were associated. But ἴαμβος, as practised by Archilochus, was not merely αἰσχρολογία; it was a literary form. This suggests that poetry of some sort was the vehicle for this αἰσχρολογία. It remains, therefore, to discuss the evidence for cult-song that may lie behind literary ἴαμβος.

Although etymological discussion is of little help in determining the essential nature of ἴαμβος, it does underline its links with διθύραμβος, θρίαμβος and ἴθυμβος. All these words appear to contain the same root; all are, *inter alia*, forms of cult-song. In turning our attention to these words our focus shifts from the cult of Demeter to that of Dionysus.

Of these terms the best-known is διθύραμβος.[42] In spite of the large quantity of material it is difficult to assess the nature of the evidence, principally because earlier dithyramb seems to have been eclipsed and later dithyramb was a radically altered form.[43] In his discussion of the development of drama Aristotle implies that, while phallic songs were still current, the dithyramb from which tragedy evolved was not.[44] It is possible that later commentators did not distinguish clearly between the two types of dithyramb, or simply discussed the later form without any awareness of the earlier.[45] This is a particularly vexing situation, for the earliest

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[42] For discussion of the dithyramb, see A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy* (Oxford 1927) 1-59 (the revised edition by T. B. L. Webster [Oxford 1962] was not an improvement); H. Herter, *Vom dionysischen Tanz zum komischen Spiel* (Iserlohn 1947) 22 f.; A. E. Harvey, *CQ* 5 (1955) 172-174; H. Patzer, *Die Anfänge der griechischen Tragödie* (Wiesbaden 1962) 90-114; R. L. Fowler, *The Nature of Early Greek Lyric: Three Preliminary Studies* (Toronto 1987) 91-92; B. Zimmermann, *Dithyrambos: Geschichte einer Gattung* (*Hypomnemata* 98: Göttingen 1992).

[43] On the later dithyramb, see Pickard-Cambridge (above, note 42) 53-80; Zimmermann 117 ff.; cf. also the remarks of E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*^{2} (Leipzig 1923) 160.

[44] *Poet.* 1449^{a}12 ff.: καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ φαλλικὰ ἃ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων διαμένει νομιζόμενα. In his commentary (Oxford 1968), D. W. Lucas pertinently observes (*ad loc.*), "ἔτι καὶ νῦν: as opposed to the dithyramb which was *completely changed* from its original form; cf. *Probl.* 918^{b}19" (my italics).

[45] For example, references to the elaborate vocabulary of the dithyramb seem to allude to the later type (Pl. *Crat.* 409c; Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.10). We can most readily gain some impression of this feature from comic parodies; a good example is Ar. *Nu.* 322 ff. (perhaps a direct parody of Philoxenus; see Dover on 335-338). Cf. also some of the extant fragments: Pind. frr. 70a, 70b, 70c, 75, 82, 85 Maehler; *PMG* 744, 745, 757, 780, 805, 806, 808, 810, 831. See further R. Seaford, *Maia* 29/30 (1977/78) 88 f. Similarly, there is a good deal of *testimonia*

occurrence of the word διθύραμβος is in Archilochus (fr. 120), and our uncertainties concerning the nature of the form renders this passage obscure:[46]

> ὡς Διωνύσου ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος
> οἶδα διθύραμβον οἴνῳ συγκεραυνωθεὶς φρένας.

These lines illustrate the close connection between the dithyramb and Dionysus.[47] The genitive Διωνύσου may suggest an association of the song with the god, or, alternatively, it may indicate that the song was in honour of the god. The bold image of οἴνῳ συγκεραυνωθεὶς φρένας may suggest that wine was an integral part of the performance of the dithyramb, although that is not a necessary inference from the text. Such a suggestion, nonetheless, may find some support in the line of Epicharmus quoted by Athenaeus immediately after the Archilochus passage (fr. 132 Kaibel): οὐκ ἔστι διθύραμβος ὄκχ' ὕδωρ πίῃς. Archilochus' use of ἐξάρξαι seems to be significant; he uses the same verb of the paean (fr. 121): αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Λέσβιον παιήονα. ἐξάρχω seems to be a technical term used of the leading of choral songs in ritual contexts as early as the *Iliad* (24.720 f.).[48]

Accordingly, we may imagine this sort of picture: Archilochus leads the song at some sort of Dionysiac festival. The occasion may have been a symposium or a κῶμος.[49] That the dithyramb was appropriate to a κῶμος is suggested by a passage of Aeschylus (fr. 355 Radt):

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concerning form and performance: [Plut.] *de Mus.* 1141bc (rhythm); Pollux 4.81, Arist. *Pol.* 1342b (accompanied by the pipe and, in the fourth century, the lyre); [Arist.] *Probl.*19: 918ab (originally antistrophic, but later singers abandoned responsion). Some of these passages may refer to early dithyramb, but without more evidence it is impossible to determine the assumptions made by the various authorities.

46 Quoted by Athen. 14.628a from Philochorus (*FGrHist* 328 F 172) in a discussion which seeks to distinguish the dithyramb from the paean (on this issue, cf. Fowler [above, note 42] 92). On the implications of the Archilochus fragment, see G. A. Privitera, *Maia* 9 (1957) 95-110; Zimmermann (above, note 42) 19-23.

47 This is also suggested by the use of διθύραμβος as an epithet of Dionysus: Eur. *Ba.* 526; Philod. Scar. *Paean* 1 Powell (*CA* p. 165); Phanod. *FGrHist* 325 F 12; Athen. 1.30b; cf. Pratinas *TrGF* 4 F 3.16 = 708.15 *PMG*.

48 See Privitera (above, note 46) 96-101; J. A. Davison, *From Archilochus to Pindar* (London 1968) 9-16.

49 L. Käppel, *Paian: Studien zur Geschichte einer Gattung* (*UaLG* 37: Berlin and New York 1992) 317, suggests that Archilochus is referring to the performance of a paean at a symposium, although such an inference is hardly certain.

μειξοβόαν πρέπει
διθύραμβον ὁμαρτεῖν
σύγκωμον Διονύσῳ

Here the link with Dionysus is again evident;[50] so too is its choral nature (μειξοβόαν). It is the implications of σύγκωμος that are of interest; the dithyramb is a 'fellow-reveller,' that is to say it is part of the same κῶμος as Dionysus.[51]

The evidence for early dithyramb, however, gives us little opportunity to form an impression of its nature. The links with Dionysus and the connection with occasions such as the κῶμος may suggest something of its mood. Similarly, the ancient *testimonia* that speak of a substantial narrative component in the dithyramb—typically of myths concerning Dionysus in the early period—may look back to the early form, but these passages are subject to the same doubts as those expressed above concerning the other ancient *testimonia*.[52]

Like διθύραμβος, θρίαμβος is used as both a divine epithet and as the name of a song;[53] and, as in the case of διθύραμβος, there is a central problem concerning the ancient evidence: the word is regularly used by later writers to translate the Roman term *triumphus*.[54] This difficulty is well illustrated by the entry in Hesychius: θρίαμβος· πομπή, ἐπίδειξις νίκης ἢ Διονυσιακὸς ὕμνος, ἴαμβος. The first part of this gloss clearly refers to the Roman term and concept, the latter to Greek θρίαμβος.[55]

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[50] As it is in the other early occurrence of the word: Pind. *Ol.* 13.18 f., ταὶ Διωνύσου πόθεν ἐξέφανεν σὺν βοηλάτᾳ χάριτες διθυράμβῳ.

[51] See Eur. *Ba* 1172; Ar. *Ach.* 264; cf. also κωμάζω (e.g. at Pind. *Ol.* 11.16).

[52] Pl. *Resp.* 394c; Heracl. Pont. fr. 157 Wehrli = [Plut.] *de Mus.* 1134e; ΣLond. Dion. Thrax p. 452.21 Hilgard.

[53] As an epithet: *PMG* 1027d; Pratinas *TrGF* 4 F 3.16 = 708.15 *PMG* (the text is somewhat problematic); D.S. 4.5; Arrian *Anab.* 6.28.2; Suda s.v. θρίαμβος; Athen. 1.30b. For the word used of song: Hsch. (quoted below), Pollux 4.53, ... ποιήματα καὶ ᾠδαὶ καὶ ᾄσματα ..., Phot. p. 92.24 Naber θριάμβους· τοὺς ἰάμβους ἔνιοι ἔλεγον. For bibliography on the θρίαμβος, see Versnel (above, note 3) 11-38, the most detailed discussion.

[54] The words are, of course, related: see Versnel 11 ff.; K. Latte *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich 1960) 152 n. 2.

[55] A less clear illustration is an epigram by Phalaecus for the tomb of a comic actor (*A.P.* 13.6 = 2946-2953 Gow-Page *HE*), in which a statue is said to be crowned εἰς θρίαμβον / κισσῷ καὶ στεφάνοισιν. Gow and Page (*ad loc.*) argue that the Roman term is irrelevant to the understanding of θρίαμβος in line 2, but translators regularly render it with words more appropriate to *triumphus* (Paton [Loeb ed., vol. 5], "... crowned for a triumph with ivy and garlands ..."; Beckby [Tusculum ed.], "... prangend im Triumphschmuck des grünen

There are few references to θρίαμβος as a song, apart from the general statements of the lexicographers. The earliest is found in a fragment of the *Didascaliae* of Cratinus (fr. 38 *PCG*): ὅτε σὺ τοὺς καλοὺς θριάμβους ἀναρύτουσ' ἀπηχθάνου. We have no context for this line; it is quoted by lexicographers to explain ἀναρύτειν. The participle ἀναρύτουσ(α) indicates that the subject is feminine, but her identity is uncertain; Kock, for example, thought her to be a Muse (on his fr. 36).[56] It is possible to assume that some inadequacy of the woman in musical matters is at issue. The verb ἀναρύτω, however, is not necessarily pejorative: Meineke (*FCG* 2.1.36) compares λόγους ἀνέσπα at Sophocles, *Aj.* 302, apparently used of harsh speech, but Cratinus' line may simply express the idea of drawing up song from some source of inspiration, just as one draws water from a well (cf. e.g. Plat. *Ion* 534ab). Without more context it is impossible to determine the tone of the passage. Accordingly, we can say little of θρίαμβος and the implications of its adjective (καλός may be literal or ironic). It is noteworthy, however, that the subject of the line is feminine, since there seems to be no other evidence to suggest that women sang cult-songs of the type represented by θρίαμβος and ἴαμβος.[57] This may reinforce the suggestion that the line was spoken by a muse or Comedy herself.

A passage which may be of more use in determining the significance of θρίαμβος is Conon's account of the myth of Procne (*Dieg.* 31 : *FGrHist* 26 F 1). The version of the tale preserved by Conon is largely unexceptional and characteristic of the ancient tradition.[58] He does, however, follow a less common tradition in

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Efeukranzes ..."). On balance, Gow and Page seem correct, but a firm decision is not easy.

56 Meineke, *FCG* 2.1.37, shows more caution in speaking of "nescio quam mulierculam."

57 Sappho was said to have composed ἴαμβοι (*Sud.* 107 Adler = *test.* 235 Voigt; Philod. *de Poem.* 2 fr. 29.20 Hausrath [p. 155.10 f. Sbordone]; Jul. *Epist.* 10 Bidez-Cumont [p. 403]). It is difficult to know what to make of these *testimonia.* The use of ἴαμβος may be simply a metrical description (though it is inapplicable to any extant fragment) or it may refer generally to poems of invective (cf. S. Koster, *Die Invektive in der griechischen und römischen Literatur* [Meisenheim am Glan 1980] 61, on Philodemus). It is, however, unlikely that Sappho's ἴαμβοι belonged to the same tradition as those by Archilochus, Semonides, and Hipponax; Julian (in a passage overlooked by editors of Sappho) contrasts Hipponax' fierce ἴαμβοι with those of Sappho: see E. Degani, *Studi su Ipponatte* (Bari 1984) 79. It is not impossible that Sappho's lost ἴαμβοι are in reality an echo of a lost comedy, such as Diphilus' *Sappho.*

58 See Frazer on [Aplld.] 3.14.18, for the sources (for the most part late) for this myth. An influential treatment seems to have been Sophocles' lost *Tereus*

making Tereus king of the Thracians at Daulis rather than Thrace proper, a variant which occurs as early as the fifth century (cf. Thuc. 2.29).

For our discussion the most remarkable feature of Conon's narrative is the motivation ascribed to Tereus for the mutilation of Procne: δεδιὼς τὸν ἐκ λόγων θρίαμβον. The occurrence of θρίαμβος here has caused some consternation among commentators. *LSJ* cite this passage as the only example of the meaning "scandal," but such a meaning is difficult to reconcile with the basic meaning of the word. Accordingly, emendations have been proposed: in his *apparatus* Jacoby records Knaack's θόρυβον ("the uproar that would result from her words") and Oder's ἔλεγχον ("the exposure that would result from her words").[59] More recently Egan has suggested θάμβον, which he renders "the shock (horror, astonishment) that would result from her words."[60] None of these proposals carries conviction; Jacoby was right to retain the reading of the paradosis. ἔλεγχον is too far removed from the *ductus litterarum* and perhaps somewhat strained in sense. θόρυβον is better palaeographically, but the corruption posited is difficult to explain, since θρίαμβος is a relatively rare word, and, in addition, one would expect θόρυβος to be further defined by a genitive.[61] Egan's θάμβον has the advantage of accounting for the difficult -αμβον component of the word, but again the passage from θάμβον to θρίαμβον is difficult. Moreover, the sense is problematic; as the passages listed in *LSJ* show, θάμβος most commonly refers to amazement, a general concept which ill suits the present passage. In addition, the

(frr. 581-595b Radt).

[59] In the latter case I have rendered ἔλεγχον in the sense that seemed most appropriate to the context, though it should be noted that this meaning is not common. Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1310-1312, εἰς ἔλεγχον ... πέσῃ, where Barrett (*ad loc.*) interprets ἔλεγχον as "a showing-up of the truth" (in the recent Loeb edition Kovacs translates "... be put to the truth").

[60] R. B. Egan, *The Diegeseis of Konon: A Commentary with an English Translation* (diss. Univ. of Southern California 1971) 205 n. 1. In *CP* 68 (1973) 284 f., Egan has abandoned his proposal in favour of understanding θρίαμβος as meaning "disclosure," "publicity," or "revelation." He has subsequently argued (*NT* 19 [1977] 34-62) that a similar meaning for θριαμβεύω is found in II Corinth. 2.44 and Coloss. 2.15. Although the proposed meaning makes sense in these passages and is supported by Phot. s.v. θρίαμβος, it is difficult to see how it can be reconciled with the earlier significance of the word, and, moreover, there are other possible ways of understanding the New Testament passages: see Arndt-Gingerich, *NT Lex.* s.v. θριαμβεύω 2.

[61] Cf. Pind. *Ol.* 10.72; Soph. *Ph.* 1263; Ar. *Ach.* 546. The use of the word of an individual is less common: cf. Eur. *Or.* 905.

word is more commonly found as a neuter noun of the third declension, and thus one would expect to find θάμβος as the accusative singular form.

It is probably best to attempt to understand the transmitted text. The word is unexpected in this context and may be regarded as an indication that it belongs to Conon and not to Photius who is epitomizing the *Diegeseis.* Photius was appreciative of Conon's style and may well have been careful to preserve such an unusual usage.[62] If we choose, then, to keep the transmitted text, a suitable meaning for θρίαμβος must be found. In the lexicon ascribed to Photius we are told that θρίαμβος was equated with ἴαμβος.[63] As we have seen in our discussion of Iambe, verbal abuse is a salient feature of the ritual context of ἴαμβος; abuse is also a central feature of literary ἴαμβος. Accordingly, it is attractive to understand θρίαμβος in the present passage as meaning "reproach" or even "abuse."[64] We thus have a sense which is appropriate to the context and establishes a link between θρίαμβος and the related word ἴαμβος.

In light of the foregoing discussion it is reasonable to conclude that θρίαμβος was used by Conon to refer to abuse or reproach, but the passage may imply more than that. It is usually assumed that Tereus removes Philomela's tongue in order to silence her and so conceal his crime.[65] Yet is this the correct understanding of Tereus' action? As the sequel shows, removing Philomela's tongue is a most inefficient means of silencing her. Perhaps, then, there is a deeper significance to this action, one which was less meaningful to the later authorities who preserve the tale. The loss of her tongue prevents Philomela from uttering articulate speech; even in her bird-form she is inarticulate.[66] Accordingly, it is possible that Tereus fears articulate speech from his victim. The reason for this fear may not simply have been concern for the revelation of his

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62 Cf. *FGrHist* 26 T 1.

63 Phot. p. 94.24 Naber: θριάμβους· τοὺς ἰάμβους ἔνιοι ἔλεγον. This gloss has been applied to the interpretation of the Conon passage by Versnel (above, note 3) 23; cf. also Hsch. s.v.

64 Versnel (above, note 3) 23, "... θρίαμβος is sure to mean 'contumely, scorn'."

65 This is certainly the motivation attributed to Tereus by most ancient sources: e.g. Tz. on Hes. *Erga* 566; P.Oxy. 3013.

66 The song of the χελιδών was notoriously like incomprehensible speech: cf. (e.g.) Aesch. *Ag.* 1050; further evidence in D. W. Thomson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford 1936) 320-321.

deed, but the concern to avoid a curse uttered by his victim. Speech has the power to harm, and, consequently, it is possible that Conon's text with its bold use of θρίαμβος alludes to an earlier tradition in which Tereus sought to rob his victim of the power to harm him by making her unable to utter an articulate curse.[67] This may be another link between θρίαμβος and ἴαμβος, for there are important affinities between the latter and curses.[68]

Although discussion of θρίαμβος has suggested a link with ἴαμβος, little light has been shed on the cultic nature of ἴαμβος; our knowledge of the execution of θρίαμβος is meagre. Accordingly, we must turn to a passage of Semus of Delos who records some pertinent details concerning the performance of ἴαμβος and related compositions (*FGrHist* 396 F 24).[69] According to Semus, αὐτοκάβδαλοι delivered their speeches (ῥήσεις) crowned with ivy; these performers and their poems (ποιήματα) were later called ἴαμβοι. Also wreathed, ἰθύφαλλοι wore masks representing drunken men; they were dressed in unusual costumes with flowery sleeves, tunics with white in the middle, and belted with a ταραντῖνον that covered them down to the ankles. Silently they passed through the entrance to the performance area; when they were in the middle of the orchestra, they turned to the audience and recited verses (a specimen is given). φαλλοφόροι also wore strange outfits—especially elaborate headgear—but no masks. They enter ἐκ παρόδου, marching and singing a song to Bacchus, which Semus quotes. After this they rush forward and abuse whomever they choose, and they do this in a standing position (εἶτα προτρέχοντες ἐτώθαζον οὓς προέλοιντο, στάδην δὲ ἔπραττον). The final sentence in the passage is incomplete, referring to the φαλλοφόρος (as opposed to the other φαλλοφόροι?), who seems to continue to march, all smeared with soot.

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[67] We might compare the treatment of Iphigenia at the hands of her father (Aesch. *Ag.* 235-237). Another possible parallel is the practice of murderers known as μασχαλισμός. Murderers mutilated the corpses of their victims to avoid retribution at the hands of the spirits: cf. Garvie on Aesch. *Cho.* 439; for discussion, see E. Rohde, *Psyche*$^{9/10}$ (Tübingen 1925) 1.322 ff.; Nilsson (above, note 15) 1.99 with n. 2.

[68] This is particularly evident in the first Strasbourg epode (Arch. fr. 193 Tarditi = Hipp. fr. 115 West): see L. Watson, *Arae: the Curse Poetry of Antiquity* (Leeds 1991) 56-62.

[69] Quoted by Athen. 14.622a-d = A. Tresp, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller* (Giessen 1914) 201 f.

Athenaeus quotes this passage from a work entitled περὶ παιάνων and it is a source of speculation what αὐτοκάβδαλοι, ἰθύφαλλοι and φαλλοφόροι have to do with the paean. That the αὐτοκάβδαλοι are crowned with ivy (ἐστεφανωμένοι κιττῷ) suggests an association with Dionysus, not Apollo in whose honour the paean was performed.[70] It is possible that Semus discussed the song of Apollo in relation to its traditional antithesis, the song of Dionysus,[71] a distinction which was blurred by the development of literary genres from the various cult-songs (as is suggested by Pl. *Legg.* 700d).

Semus discusses three different types of performer; the common element is that they appear connected with Dionysus and what might be generally termed τὰ φαλλικά, a feature of cult regularly associated with Dionysiac worship.[72] It is regrettable that we know little or nothing concerning the location of these performances; a work on the paean is potentially wide-ranging.[73] That Semus was a

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[70] West, *Studies* 23, remarks, "The ivy provides a link with Dionysus." He compares the epigram by Phalaecus (see n. 55, above). For Dionysus and ivy, see J. Roux, *Euripide: Les Bacchantes* 1 (Paris 1970) 57 f.; Dodds on Eur. *Ba.* 81; cf. also the Dionysiac procession beneath an ivy-covered canopy: Callixenus *FGrHist* 627 F 2 (p. 169.20). Although this connection is most probable, it should not be regarded as a certainty: see Aesch. fr. 341 Radt, ὁ κισσεὺς Ἀπόλλων, ὁ βακειόμαντις, which seems to blur the traditional distinction between Apollo and Dionysus: see Burkert, *GR* 223-225. The attempt by M. L. West, *BICS* 30 (1983) 70 = *Studies in Aeschylus* (Stuttgart 1990) 45 f., to preserve the distinction in this passage seems desperate, to say the least.

[71] Cf. Philoch. *FGrHist* 328 F 172 with Jacoby's note (*ibid.* 3b [*Suppl.*] 1.546, 2.440).

[72] See Nilsson (above, note 15) 1.590-594.

[73] Cf. Jacoby, *FGrHist* 3b (*Komm.*) 1.204, "Dieses buch gehört ins gebiet der realphilologie und vielleicht literar-historie; es war sicher nicht musiktheoretisch und nicht auf Delos beschränkt oder auch nur von delischen zuständen ausgehend." West, *Studies* 36, states confidently: "At Sicyon, sometime in the fourth or third century, a band known as the φαλλοφόροι marched into the theatre chanting a parody of a passage in Euripides' *Hippolytus*, after which they ran forward and mocked whoever [sic] they chose, and a large phallus was borne in by a man whose face was blackened with soot (Semus l.c.; *Melici* 851 (b), cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 73 ff.)." West's treatment of the Semus passage is unsatisfactory in a number of respects. In the first place, the connection with Sicyon is not made explicit in the quotation from Semus, though it receives support from an earlier statement by Athenaeus (14.621f), who says of the δεικηλισταί: Σικυώνιοι μὲν γὰρ φαλλοφόρους αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν. In the second, the assertion that the song of the φαλλοφόροι is a parody lacks foundation; there are few points of contact between the two passages: both begin with σοί and contain the word ἀκήρατος (though it is differently employed). H. W. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets* (London 1900) 501, cites the Euripidean passage as a parallel to the anonymous piece, but there is no suggestion that one is dependent on the other.

Delian and wrote a history of the island does not allow us to assume that his treatise was concerned exclusively with the paean in the religious life of Delos.[74] Nonetheless it seems certain that Semus was thinking of performances in specific communities.

Semus first discusses the αὐτοκάβδαλοι. The word αὐτοκάβδαλος seems to refer to improvisation of a low order, like that of Spartan δεικηλισταί (see below).[75] As a term referring to a performer of improvised song, it is possibly attested as early as Eupolis.[76] Apart from Semus the most interesting reference to αὐτοκάβδαλοι occurs in Lucian's *Lexiphanes* (10), in which it is used of seemingly disreputable entertainers who frequent dice-houses in outlandish costumes. The dress of the ἰθύφαλλοι in the passage of Semus is similarly strange; the ἰθύφαλλοι, like Lucian's performer, wear clothing that is also associated with women.[77]

The ἰθύφαλλοι and φαλλοφόροι are less important to our discussion, although they possess considerable significance for the consideration of the development of Athenian drama.[78] But the fact that Semus discusses them along with the αὐτοκάβδαλοι suggests that they are in some way similar to the latter. That the word φαλλός forms part of the title of both the ἰθύφαλλοι and φαλλοφόροι indicates a link with τὸ αἰσχρόν, an element which we have detected in the cult-background of ἴαμβος, especially in the context of αἰσχρολογία. The word ἰθύφαλλος suggests that the singers were either characterized by or associated with the erect, male member. The word appears to have been used this way as early as Cratinus

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[74] This is the assumption made by R. Vallois, *BCH* 46 (1922) 94-11; for the φαλλαγωγία on Delos, see Nilsson (above, note 15) 1.592.

[75] Cf. Hsch. αὐτοκάβδαλα· αὐτοσχέδια ποιήματα· εὐτελῆ. *LSJ* s.v. cite Arist. *Rhet.* 1415^{b}38 to illustrate the meaning "done carelessly, slovenly"; but this is not what Aristotle means; he notes that the absence of exordia makes speeches look improvised (... ὡς αὐτοκάβδαλα φαίνεται, ἐὰν μὴ ἔχῃ, cf. 1408^{a}12). Any suggestion of carelessness is secondary. Similarly, at Lyc. 745, αὐτοκάβδαλον σκάφος, the adjective refers to the fact that the ship has been improvised (cf. Σ ad loc. [2.239 Scheer], οὐ γὰρ ἦν ναῦς, ἀλλ' αὐτοσχέδιον πλοῖον).

[76] Eup. fr. 192.195 *PCG*. Eupolis in fact seems to have used αὐτοκάρδαλα/-λον, but this was emended to αὐτοκάβδαλον by Runkel, an alteration adopted by Meineke, *FCG* 2.1.505, and Kock. Kassel-Austin, however, retain the transmitted text, which has been confirmed by P.Oxy. 2744. According to the gloss in the papyrus the transmitted word is the equivalent of αὐτοκάβδαλος.

[77] The ταραντῖνον: see Gomme-Sandbach on Men. *Epitr.* 489. That it reaches to the ankles may also suggest a feminine style (cf. ἑλκεσίπεπλος, *Il.* 6.442 *et al.*, Alc. fr. 130b.18 Voigt).

[78] See especially Herter (above, note 15) 19 ff.; Nilsson (above, note 15) 1.592.

(fr. 16 *PCG*). The implications of ἰθύφαλλος are reinforced by the song quoted by Semus (= *Carm. pop.* fr. 851a *PMG*):

ἀνάγετ', εὐρυχωρίαν,
τῶι θεῶι ποιεῖτε·
θέλει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὀρθὸς ἐσφυδωμένος
διὰ μέσου βαδίζειν.

The god wishes to go through the middle—it is unclear whether the middle of the orchestra or simply of the crowd[79]—ὀρθὸς ἐσφυδωμένος. The description implies that the god is himself ἰθύφαλλος, perhaps to a remarkable degree.[80] The spectators are instructed to make a good deal of room (εὐρυχωρία) to accommodate the god in his ithyphallic state.[81]

The verses sung by the φαλλοφόροι are of a different order from those sung by the ἰθύφαλλοι; they seem to be the product of self-conscious artistry.[82] In sharp contrast to the refinement of their song the actions of the φαλλοφόροι are suggestive of some sort of earthy ritual atmosphere like that which characterizes the

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[79] Semus introduces this song by saying ὅταν κατὰ μέσην τὴν ὀρχήστραν γένωνται, ἐπιστρέφουσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον λέγοντες, and so διὰ μέσου may refer to the performance area, but this is uncertain.

[80] Dionysus was worshipped under the title ὀρθός at an altar in the temple of the Horai at Athens. Philochorus *FGrHist* 328 F 5B connects the epithet with drinking mixed wine early, but that explanation is almost certainly wrong: see Farnell, *CGS* 5.127; Jacoby, *FGrHist* 3b (*Suppl.*) 1.270; Nilsson (above, note 15) 1.593. The true significance of the epithet is probably connected with phallic worship, as one might suppose on the basis of the passage from Semus. ὀρθός often means "erect": see Henderson (above, note 28) 112. It is perhaps noteworthy that Aristophanes provides two instances of this usage with reference to the celebration of the Rural Dionysia (φαλλὸς ὀρθός at *Ach.* 243, 259-260). ἐσφυδωμένος means "swollen to the point of bursting" (σφυδόω means basically "to be vigorous"; cf. *LSJ* s.v.); cf. Timocles fr. 31.2-3 *PCG*. Accordingly, the word seems appropriate to the erect male member.

[81] The song is thus reminiscent of a well-known passage of Sappho in a controversial interpretation (fr. 111 Voigt): according to G. S. Kirk, *CQ* 13 (1963) 51, the bridegroom "is much bigger than a big man—because he is fantastically ithyphallic." Although this reading of the passage is very doubtful, it would provide a striking parallel for the song of the ἰθύφαλλοι: the carpenters must raise the roof to accommodate the bridegroom with his gigantic erection; so too must the spectators of the ἰθύφαλλοι make room for the ithyphallic god. The similarity between these two passages has been noted by J. F. Killeen, *CQ* 23 (1978) 198.

[82] Porson in fact ascribed the lines to Pratinas (cf. Gulick, Loeb Athen. 6 p. 355). On West's unconvincing view that the lines are a parody of Euripides, see above, note 73.

performance of the ἰθύφαλλοι.[83] The performers indulge in ritual τωθασμός, as is indicated by Semus' use of the verb τωθάζω, which is directed against members of the audience.[84] The choice of victim was dictated by the whim of the individual singers; Semus says οὓς προέλοιντο and this may suggest that the choice was made at random or that it was determined by some other, unknown criterion (e.g., the victim may have been an enemy of the singer, or merely a prominent citizen). Semus provides no evidence of the nature of the τωθασμός; it may have been light-hearted or serious. Semus, however, does suggest that the τωθασμός was delivered in a formal manner. The φαλλοφόροι rushed towards their respective targets (προστρέχοντες)—clearly an aggressive gesture—but abused them while standing still (στάδην δὲ ἔπραττον),[85] that is to say, they took up a formal position. In this way, they are reminiscent of Pindar in the First Nemean Ode (19-20), where the poet suggests a formal position assumed for praise of the victor.

This fragment of Semus provides a tantalizing glimpse of the cultic ambience in which ἴαμβοι and related songs were performed. It is regrettable that he does not provide a specimen of the art of the αὐτοκάβδαλοι, matching the products of the ἰθύφαλλοι and φαλλοφόροι. If the ἴαμβοι of the αὐτοκάβδαλοι were improvised, then it is possible that they were not written down, at least in the community assumed by Semus' remarks.

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[83] That the principal φαλλοφόρος was smeared with soot (καταπασθεὶς αἰθάλῳ) underlines the primitive nature of the proceedings. A similar practice is found in the cult of Artemis Alpheia; according to the mythic αἴτιον Artemis smeared her own face and those of her followers with mud to escape the amorous attentions of the river Alpheus (Paus. 6.22.8): see M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Berlin 1906) 214 f.; Farnell, *CGS* 2.428. There appears to be a similar use of soot at the Cronia (Luc. *Sat.* 2). The use of soot or mud for the purpose of disguise is also attested in secular contexts: Chariclea in Heliod. 6.11.3, and the robbers in Lollianus' *Phoinikika* B 1 verso 28-29 Henrichs (*Die Phoinikika des Lollianus* [PTA 14: Bonn 1972]) = p. 342 Stephens-Winkler: see L. Koenen, *BASP* 16 (1979) 113; C. P. Jones, *Phoenix* 34 (1980) 248-249, who rejects the religious interpretation of the papyrus proposed by the editor of the *editio princeps.*

[84] On the implications of τωθασμός, see J. S. Rusten, *HSCP* 81 (1977) 156-161.

[85] This may provide a further point of contact between the φαλλοφόροι and αὐτοκάβδαλοι. Of the latter Semus says in the text printed by Jacoby σχέδην ἐπέραινον ῥήσεις. σχέδην ('gently, thoughtfully'), however, is curious; accordingly, Capps emended to στάδην, an alteration printed by Gulick in the Loeb edition, and this is in many ways preferable: the αὐτοκάβδαλοι, like the φαλλοφόροι, deliver their ῥήσεις in a formal, standing position. Semus' text may have suffered from compression; he may originally have mentioned a processional aspect in connection with the αὐτοκάβδαλοι which came to an end with the uttering of the ῥήσεις.

In discussing the αὐτοκάβδαλοι Athenaeus (14.621f) informs us that they belong to the εἶδος τῶν δεικηλιστῶν. The δεικηλιστής, rendered by West (*Studies* 36) as "representationist," seems to be a sort of Spartan entertainer. Athenaeus' remarks follow a reference to Sosibius, a local historian of Sparta, who offers a description (*FGrHist* 595 F 7).[86] The δεικηλισταί were performers of an old sort of entertainment that was akin to comedy (κωμικὴ παιδιά). It is striking that the δεικηλισταί do not appear to make significant use of poetry; ordinary language is employed (ἐν εὐτελεῖ τῇ λέξει).[87] These entertainers seem to have acted out scenes: for example, stealing fruit or imitating a pretentious, foreign doctor. That Athenaeus must supply a quotation from Alexis (fr. 146 *PCG*), a poet of Attic Middle Comedy, to illustrate the Spartan practice suggests that the work of the δεικηλισταί was not recorded, perhaps because, like the αὐτοκάβδαλοι, their performances were of an improvisatory nature.[88] Nothing in the passage of Sosibius implies any links with cult; but, like the Attic comedy which Athenaeus quotes, a cultic background is not unlikely.

The passage of Athenaeus also introduces an important consideration. He notes that there were many local versions of these performers (τοῦ δὲ εἴδους τῶν δεικηλιστῶν πολλοὶ κατὰ τόπους εἰσὶ προσηγορίαι). Worship of Dionysus with phallic rites was very widespread, and so it comes as no surprise that there were numerous local festivals at which were performed songs and entertainments of the sorts that we have been considering. This variety has serious implications for our discussion. ἴαμβος of the sort practised by Archilochus and the other Ionian iambists is clearly a 'literary' crystallization of cult-song or, in other words, a poetic genre that has developed from cult-song. However close Archilochus' *iamboi*

86 See Tresp (above, note 69) 134-136.

87 This phrase may recall Aristotle's assertion that iambic rhythm was close to that of ordinary speech (*Poet.* 1449ᵃ26), although εὐτελής may refer more directly to the low level of style employed by the δεικηλισταί. Clearly these performances did not strike Sosibius as poetic in a recognizable way. It may be noteworthy in this regard that Aristotle describes the early poets of the iambic tradition as the εὐτελέστεροι (*Poet.* 1448ᵇ26).

88 As the spacing in Jacoby's edition suggests, the passage of Alexis seems to have been supplied by Athenaeus, not Sosibius. This is, of course, uncertain, but the fact that Athenaeus seems to have been completely familiar with the whole corpus of Attic comedy makes it more likely that he would adduce Alexis than would Sosibius, a Spartan treating of a Spartan practice. In any case, we may be permitted to infer that there was no comparable illustration in Athenaeus' source.

are to their cultic background—and this remains a controversial issue—it is obvious that they are artistic compositions of a very high order, as ancient critics recognized. A literary evolution of this sort was possible in any community that held a festival at which song played an important role.[89] Yet it is important to note that the products of this evolution need not be uniform; the various genres that developed may well have differed significantly in a variety of respects. Such differences may be accounted for partly by the differing natures of the festivals and partly by the artists involved. A major literary innovator can have a substantial impact on the tradition.[90]

In southern Italy Aristoxenus of Selinus is credited with the introduction of a genre called ἴαμβος. Our source is Epicharmus (fr. 88 Kaibel):

> οἱ τοὺς ἰάμβους καὶ τὸν †ἄριστον τρόπον,
> ὃν πρᾶτος εἰσαγήσαθ' Ὡριστόξενος.

West (*IEG*² 2.45) seems to be correct in holding that the last part of the first line of this fragment is corrupt; in this light Porson's καττὸν ἀρχαῖον is attractive ("those who [sing or perform] ἴαμβοι in the old manner"). Epicharmus seems to be referring to a local form of ἴαμβος, although its nature is difficult to determine. In another passage Epicharmus mentions someone 'skilled in the lyre' (if the text is sound) piping παριαμβίδες as an accompaniment, likely to a dance in which Semele took part (καὶ ὑπαυλεῖ σφιν †σοφὸς κιθάρᾳ παριαμβίδες, fr. 109.2). The word παριαμβίδες is striking. Ancient lexicographers explain the παριαμβίς essentially as a citharodic nome accompanied by the pipe, and these sources suggest that παριαμβίς and ἴαμβος were closely connected—perhaps even identified—in such contexts.[91] That Hesychius refers to

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[89] See J. Herington, *Poetry into Drama* (Berkeley 1985) 3 ff., on what he terms early Greek "song culture."

[90] The time has passed when we can share the confidence of many ancient scholars that Archilochus was the inventor of his poetic medium, but it is not impossible (nor is it unlikely) that he was of central importance in determining the nature of Ionian ἴαμβος. See West, *Studies* 34-35; cf. also the *testimonia* in *IEG*² 2.45-46.

[91] Hsch. s.v. παριαμβίδες· Ἀπολλόδωρος (*FGrHist* 244 F 264) παρὰ τοὺς ἰάμβους αὐτάς φησι πεποιῆσθαι, ἃς οἱ κιθαρῳδοὶ ᾄδουσιν; Phot. s.v. παρίαμβοι καὶ παριαμβίδες καὶ ἴαμβοι· κιθαρῳδικοὶ νόμοι οἷς προσηύλουν; Pollux 4.83, καὶ μὴν ἴαμβοί γε καὶ παριαμβίδες νόμοι κιθαριστήριοι, οἷς καὶ συνηύλουν. See also Hsch. s.vv. ἰαμβαυλεῖν and ἰαμβίς.

Apollodorus suggests that the *locus classicus* for the word was the fragment of Epicharmus, for the work cited is probably Apollodorus' monograph on the Sicilian poet.[92] One suspects that the term may be confined to a form peculiar to Sicily, but this is far from certain: Hesychius quotes ἰαμβίς, a word with an apparently similar reference, from Aeschylus (fr. 81 Radt). Yet it is interesting to note that the Aeschylean play in question is the satyric *Theoroi*, a play which may have been produced in Sicily if Epicharmus' *Thearoi* was a parody of it.[93] If Aeschylus did produce his play in Sicily, its language may have been influenced by local usage.[94]

According to Epicharmus fr. 109, παριαμβίδες accompanied Semele's dance, and this is suggestive of Dionysiac worship.[95] Moreover, it seems likely that a chorus was involved; σφιν implies a plural number of dancers. If the παριαμβίδες were meant to accompany ἴαμβοι, it is possible that in Sicily ἴαμβοι were works performed by a chorus. Confirmation comes from a statement of Athenaeus (181c), who notes that dancers were called ἰαμβισταί at Syracuse.

The best-known literary development from phallic song was probably Attic comedy.[96] As we have already noted, Aristotle records that comedy developed "from the (leaders) of the phallic songs that even today remain customary in many cities" (ἀπὸ τῶν [sc. ἐξαρχόντων] τὰ φαλλικὰ ἃ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων διαμένει νομιζόμενα, *Poet.* 1449^{a}11), and this statement clearly situates the history of Attic comedy in the context of the kinds of cult-song that we have been discussing. In addition to the obvious phallic element, comedy also employs masks and outlandish

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92 *FGrHist* 244 T 18. See the remarks by Jacoby, *ibid.* 2B (*Komm.*) 795.

93 For Aeschylus' two visits (possibly 476-475 and 456-455), see M. Griffith in *Dionysiaca: Nine Studies in Greek Poetry by Former Pupils presented to Sir Denys Page on His Seventieth Birthday* (Cambridge 1978) 105-139. According to ΣA. *Eum.* 626, Epicharmus parodies the Athenian poet. Griffith (116-117) is sceptical of direct influence of Epicharmus on Aeschylus.

94 According to Athenaeus, Aeschylus was influenced by local usage (9.376c = T 92a Radt; cf. Eust. on *Od.* 1872.4 = T 92b Radt). See A. F. Garvie, *Aeschylus' Supplices: Play and Trilogy* (Cambridge 1969) 49-55 and Griffith (preceding note) 106-109 for sceptical discussion of alleged Sicilianisms in the extant plays and fragments (ἰαμβίς is not discussed).

95 West, *Studies* 35, aptly cites Pind. fr. 75.18-19 Maehler, a fragment of a dithyramb, for the presence of Semele in such contexts.

96 A detailed discussion of the evidence for the ritual background to Attic comedy stands outside the scope of the present discussion: see Herter (above, note 15) for a perceptive treatment of the question.

costumes. More relevant to the consideration of ἴαμβος is the prominence of invective in old comedy, especially the strong tradition of τὸ ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν.[97] Crucial to Aristotle's view of comedy is a movement away from the early tradition of invective towards the deployment of plots that treated their subjects in more universal terms (*Poet.* 1449^{b}8); this convention of invective is described as the ἰαμβικὴ ἰδέα. Earlier at *Poet.* 1448^{b}26 ff. Aristotle speaks of the εὐτελέστεροι who composed invective (ψόγους ποιοῦντες); they were later the poets of ἴαμβοι. For Aristotle this remains a low form of poetry, but Homer, whom Aristotle thought to be the author of the *Margites*, showed the way to the form of comedy by giving dramatic treatment not to invective but to the laughable (οὐ ψόγον ἀλλὰ τὸ γελοῖον δραματοποιήσας). Once the basic dramatic forms had been inferred from Homeric epic, poets of the iambic tradition gave up ἴαμβοι for comedy (οἱ μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν ἰάμβων κωμῳδοποιοὶ ἐγένοντο).

Aristotle's literary history seems plausible enough, suggesting an evolution from primitive cult-poetry of the sort we have suggested above. This view, however, is complicated by a couple of factors. In the first instance, the model presented seems too tidy, and it may well have as much to do with Aristotle's teleology as with the facts of history; like Plato, Aristotle found ψόγος distasteful. Moreover, Aristotle (*Poet.* 1449^{b}7) claims that the move away from the ἰαμβικὴ ἰδέα began with Crates (*test.* 5 *PCG*), a slightly younger contemporary of Cratinus, but personal invective remains prominent in all but the last plays by Aristophanes. A more important factor is the possible influence of developed ἴαμβος itself.[98] Cratinus, in particular, seems to have been very much aware of the Ionian form, and may well have addressed it directly in his lost *Archilochoi*. In this light we cannot take it for granted that Attic comedy represents a 'pure' development of cultic φαλλικά or αἰσχρολογία.

It is clear that Ionian ἴαμβος and Attic comedy represent the most developed forms to have emerged from the cultic traditions that we have surveyed; many of these songs remained sub-literary, and so likely stayed firmly rooted to their respective cultic or festive occasion.[99] ἴαμβος clearly moved beyond its original setting,

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[97] See S. Halliwell, *CQ* 34 (1984) 83-88; E. Degani in *Aristophane* (*Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 38, Vandœuvres-Geneva 1991) 1-49.

[98] See R. M. Rosen, *Old Comedy and the Iambographic Tradition* (Atlanta 1988).

[99] This seems to be true of the δεικηλισταί, for example, and the low

as the performance of Archilochus' poems at poetic ἀγῶνες shows (cf. n. 1, above). Perhaps the most pressing question for the present discussion concerns the implications of the ritual background for the ἴαμβοι composed by Archilochus and the other Ionian iambists. The evidence suggests that the cultic setting was the αἰσχρολογία of either the cult of Demeter or that of Dionysus—possibly both. Yet in spite of a significant amount of circumstantial evidence, we have little indication of the nature and function of αἰσχρολογία. What sort of abuse was uttered in the γεφυρισμός in the Eleusinian Mysteries? What constituted σκώμματα ἐκ τῶν ἁμαξῶν? Our inability to answer these questions has a direct affect on our understanding of early iambic poetry.

After outlining the ritual background, West (*Studies* 22 ff.) concluded that ἴαμβος, as practised by Archilochus, was a traditional entertainment that formed part of a festival of Demeter. Lycambes and his daughters, on this view, are stock-figures, traditional opponents of the *persona* adopted by the poet. In developing this view, West has made little use of the evidence for the cultic background; rather he has looked to Lycambes' name and his patronymic (Δωτάδης): the former, he suggests, shares the -αμβ- root of ἴαμβος, διθύραμβος, θρίαμβος and ἴθυμβος; the latter is seen to be similar to the name assumed by Demeter in Eleusis (Δώς or Δωσώ).[100] In this light, it is argued that these names are traditional elements of a cult tale. Neobule's name can be understood as a similar construct, referring to the girl who changes her mind.

This theory has been influential, especially in the English-speaking world.[101] Recent discussion, however, has shown that West's view has been constructed on a weak foundation.[102] In light of the large number of *redende Namen* in Greek, the central

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character of the genre seems to be the point of an anecdote told by Plutarch about the tragic actor Callipides, whom Agesilaus slights by calling him a δεικηλιστής (*Ages.* 21.4; cf. *Mor.* 212e-f). As Plutarch notes, the Spartans called the μῖμος a δεικηλιστής (for the social level of mime, see G. Zanker, *Realism in Alexandrian Poetry* [London 1987] 144 f.)

[100] *H.Dem.* 122; on the text of this line, see Richardson *ad loc.*

[101] See, e.g., G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore 1979) 243-252 (for a helpful discussion of this influential book, see R. L. Fowler, *EMC* 2 [1983] 117-129).

[102] See W. Rösler, *RhM* 119 (1976) 300-310; H. D. Rankin, *QUCC* 28 (1978) 7-27; M. G. Bonanno, *MH* 37 (1980) 65-88; E. Degani, *Gnomon* 52 (1980) 513; B. Gentili, *QUCC* n.s. 11 (1982) 24 n. 50 = *Poesia e pubblico nella Grecia antica* (Bari 1984) 250 n. 50 (= Engl. ed. 294 n. 50); C. Carey, *CQ* 36 (1986) 60-67. These studies make detailed exposition and criticism of West's thesis unnecessary.

argument concerning names is specious. Moreover, in the inscriptions from the Archilocheion Lycambes is clearly regarded as a real person and a figure of some local importance (Mnes. Inscr. E1 col. II 45 = *test.* 4 Tarditi). It is highly unlikely that local tradition could have confused a stock-figure in such a way.[103]

As an alternative to the view that ἴαμβος was a kind of ritual mime, we can offer a conjecture concerning the nature and function of Archilochian ἴαμβος on the basis of the ritual background. In discussing this material, we saw that αἰσχρολογία was a feature of certain religious occasions characterized by inversion: αἰσχρολογία seems possible only when the normal rules of human intercourse are relaxed or suspended. In many cults, however, inversion provides more than licence for unusual behaviour; it stands as a symbolic event, representing the breakdown of society or the world as people know it.[104] This is particularly clear in the myth of the abduction of Persephone, a myth that has been central to our discussion. "As long as Kore is lost and Demeter is in mourning," writes Burkert (*GR* 160), "a reversal of normal life takes place." Crops fail to grow, and the human race faces extinction; with the return of Core the normal order re-asserts itself. The mythic αἴτιον for ἴαμβος unfolds in the context of this cosmic crisis.

The point of this sort of inversion is to re-affirm and strengthen the traditional structures of society and even the natural world.[105] Normality is reinforced by experiencing its opposite. Such a process is especially clear in initiation rites: for example, those in which a boy becomes a man by being transformed symbolically into a woman through ritual transvestism.[106] In the case of the worship of Demeter the implications of the inversion concern the community as a whole.[107]

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[103] This point is made with considerable force by Carey 64; cf. also A. P. Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets* (Cambridge, Mass. 1983) 22.

[104] See the detailed and penetrating discussion of "dissolution" festivals by Burkert (above, note 15) 135 ff. Burkert defines "dissolution" as "a breakdown of the normal order" (135).

[105] A central feature of ancient religion is the way in which it provides a structure for human life: see R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford 1983) 23 f. It is therefore not surprising to find cult reinforcing the structure of human society.

[106] See Burkert, *GR* 206-264.

[107] It seems unlikely that ritual inversion served only one function. In some contexts, for example, it may have provided a release to the oppressed (e.g. women, slaves, sons in relation to fathers): see E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley 1951) 46-49 (on sons); J. N. Bremmer, *ZPE* 55

When we turn to a literary genre that developed under the sort of ritual conditions outlined above, it seems reasonable to assume that the nature and function of ἴαμβος is, at some level, consonant with those of the larger religious context. ἴαμβος, then, will seek to uphold the traditional values of society. The iambist is a protector of his community and by means of ἴαμβος repels any who threaten the stability of his world. This is also the stance adopted by the comic poet as he practises τὸ ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν. In the case of Archilochus, the fragmentary evidence does not allow a complete picture of his art to emerge;[108] but an examination of his poetry written against Lycambes will suggest the social function of ἴαμβος: Archilochus presents his enemy as a malefactor who endangers the community, and the poet seeks to destroy Lycambes' public standing. Archilochian ἴαμβος, then, is not mere entertainment (though like all literature it may be entertaining); it is poetry with a serious and important purpose. Semonides will also be seen to share this purpose, although evidence is less abundant. With Hipponax, however, this situation appears to be different.

(1984) 285 f. (on women in maenadism).

[108] It should be noted that it remains uncertain what precisely would constitute ἴαμβος, as Archilochus would have understood the genre; not all of the iambic fragments should necessarily be so classified. See West's doubts, *Studies* 37 f.

ARCHILOCHUS

When we survey the evidence for the historical setting of Archilochus' life and work, we have the impression of a solidly based historical tradition.[1] Not only are there numerous apparent references to contemporary events among the extant fragments, but there is an extensive secondary tradition that includes both epigraphical and literary evidence. It should be noted, however, that this whole issue is fraught with peril: almost all of the evidence can be judged suspect for one reason or another. In the case of apparently autobiographical statements contained in the extant fragments, there is always the possibility that without full context such statements may be misleading. Details of biography provided by other ancient authors are similarly suspect owing to the general unreliability of the biographical tradition.[2]

There has been considerable discussion of Archilochus' date; debate has focused on two fragments, frr. 19 and 122.[3] In the former passage there is a reference to Gyges who reigned over Lydia from roughly 687 to 652 B.C., when he was killed by the Cimmerians.[4] The text speaks as though Gyges was still alive at the dramatic moment of the poem, and this may support the view that Archilochus composed his poem before the king's death. This inference, however, is problematic. As Aristotle notes (*Rhet.* 1418^{b}23), the lines in question were spoken by a character called Charon the

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[1] In addition to West, *IEG*², the edition by G. Tarditi (Rome 1968) contains a full collection of *testimonia.* F. Bossi's *Studi su Archiloco*² (Rome 1990) arouses high expectations for his forthcoming Teubner edition. For further bibliography, see D. E. Gerber, *Lustrum* 33 (1991) 18-98.

[2] The seminal discussion of these issues is K. J. Dover, "The Poetry of Archilochos," in *Archiloque* (*Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 10, Vandœuvres-Geneva 1964) 181-222 = *Greek and the Greeks: Collected Papers* 1 (Oxford 1987) 97-121. The whole question of the character of the biographical tradition has been examined critically by M. R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (Baltimore 1981) *passim* (25-31, for Archilochus).

[3] The fundamental discussion of the question remains F. Jacoby, *CQ* 35 (1941) 97-109 = *Kl. phil. Schr.* 1.249-267.

[4] There can be no doubt that the name in fact belongs to the Lydian king: the poem is alluded to by Herodotus (1.12.2); moreover, Gyges is described as πολύχρυσος, a term that befits such a figure, and the text mentions μεγάλη τυραννίς (it may be noteworthy that Hippias of Elis, *FGrHist* 6 F 6, says that the term τύραννος was first applied to βασιλεῖς in the time of Archilochus).

carpenter, and, just as Asius sang of the Samians in 'the good old days' (fr. 13 Bernabé = 13 Davies), Archilochus need not have treated Charon as a contemporary figure.

In fr. 122.2 ff. there is reference to an eclipse (... ἐπειδὴ Ζεὺς πατὴρ Ὀλυμπίων / ἐκ μεσαμβρίης ἔθηκε νύκτ', ἀποκρύψας φάος / ἡλίου...). It is commonly assumed that Archilochus is alluding to the eclipse either of 6 April 648 or, less probably, to that of 27 June 660.[5] It is not unlikely that fr. 122 was composed in response to a real event, and so we may be able to anchor Archilochus' life to this occasion; but, as in the case of fr. 19, the lines concerning the eclipse are spoken by a character in a poem by Archilochus, a father talking about his daughter. That the eclipse is set at one remove from the poet should make us cautious in any attempt to determine what eclipse—if any—is being referred to.

Doubts concerning these passages notwithstanding, we seem to be on reasonably firm ground in seeing Archilochus as active on the islands of Paros and Thasos in the second half of the seventh century B.C. This view corresponds closely to the general tenor of the ancient tradition.[6] Particularly noteworthy was the discovery of a μνῆμα dating from the end of the seventh century dedicated to Glaucus the son of Leptines, who is addressee of a number of fragments of Archilochus' poetry.[7] This inscription is a pointed reminder that we are dealing with the remains of poetry that was the product of a particular time and place.

The world of seventh century Paros and Thasos seems to have prompted from Archilochus an impressive range of poetry—both elegiac and iambic—but it is the latter for which the poet was best known. In fact Archilochus was regularly believed to have been the inventor of ἴαμβος.[8] We have already seen, however, that ἴαμβος had its roots in cult, and so it is pertinent to ask whether the

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[5] On the latter date the eclipse seems only to have been partial on Paros: see P. Green, *The Shadow of the Parthenon: Studies in Ancient History and Literature* (Berkeley 1972) 268-275. The eclipse of 14 March 711 has also been suggested, although it is regularly dismissed as too early.

[6] For a useful overview of the tradition, see Podlecki, *Early Gr. Poets* 30 ff.

[7] The text is conveniently printed by Tarditi as *test.* 1; see also R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford 1969) 3-4, for a brief discussion and further bibliography. Glaucus' name occurs in frr. 15, 48.7, 105.1, 117, 131.1; it has been restored at fr. 96.1.

[8] See the introductory section on iambos, p. 15 n. 9.

most influential practitioner of the genre was also linked with cult in any way.

In the ancient biographical tradition Archilochus seems to have been associated closely with the religious traditions of his community. According to Pausanias, in Polygnotus' painting of the Underworld in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi Archilochus' grandfather, Tellis, was depicted in Charon's boat along with Cleoboea, the priestess who introduced the rites of Demeter to Thasos from Paros.[9] This combination suggests that Archilochus' family (and likely the poet himself) was of some importance in Paros' colonization of Thasos.[10] Tellis' name, moreover, seems to be hieratic, suggesting τέλεα. In addition, the name of Archilochus' father, Telesicles, seems to have similar implications.[11] The collocation of Tellis with the priestess of Demeter may indicate that Tellis (and later Telesicles and Archilochus) belonged to a priestly family. If this is correct the cult of Demeter may well have been part of Archilochus' birthright. This supposition is supported by a fragment of a cult-song ascribed to the Ἰόβακχοι of Archilochus (fr. 322):

> Δήμητρος ἁγνῆς καὶ Κόρης
> τὴν πανήγυριν σέβων.

Although some doubt concerning the authenticity of the Ἰόβακχοι existed in antiquity and West rightly prints this passage among the *spuria*,[12] these lines show at the very least that Archilochus was

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[9] Paus. 10.28.3. For discussion of the painting, see R. B. Kerbig, *The Paintings in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi and their Historical Context* (Leiden 1983), especially 45-46 on Tellis and Cleoboea.

[10] See A. J. Podlecki, *Phoenix* 28 (1974) 1-17, and *Early Gr. Poets* 36 ff.; A. J. Graham in *CAH* 3.3² (1982) 115-117.

[11] For Telesicles as the name of Archilochus' father, see the inscription (ca 400 B.C.) edited by G. Daux, *BCH* 85 (1961) (= *test.* 2 Tarditi): Cf. also Mnes. inscr. E1 col. II 22 (*test.* 4 Tarditi); Sosth. inscr. B col. IV 11 (*test.* 5 Tarditi). On the significance of the names, see West, *Studies* 24, who persuasively argues that Tellis is a hypercoristic form of a name like Telesicles.

[12] Hephaestion (*Ench.* 15.16 [p. 52 Consbruch]) says that fr. 322 belongs ἐν τοῖς ἀναφερομένοις εἰς Ἀρχίλοχον Ἰοβάκχοις. According to ΣAr. *Av.* 1764, Archilochus won a prize for a hymn to Demeter. No doubts are expressed by any of the sources of fr. 323, also from an Ἰόβακχος. The possibility must remain, however, that pieces of Parian cult poetry were ascribed to Archilochus because of the eminence of the poet's reputation. In the case of fr. 322 the violation of Porson's law in the iambic dimeter makes it all but certain that these lines are spurious (the Attic/Euboean form κόρη also arouses suspicion, but cf. δορί in fr. 2). For the observance of Porson's law by the early iambic poets, see

associated with cult-poetry by ancient authorities. If any of the poems collected under this title were in fact authentic, it indicates that Archilochus composed cult-poetry for one of the most influential cults of Demeter.[13]

The title Ἰόβακχος suggests Dionysus, who may have played a rôle in the local cult of Demeter. The biographical tradition also connects Archilochus with the cult of Dionysus. According to the Mnesiepes inscription (E1 col. III 17-57 = *test.* 4 Tarditi), Archilochus was central to the introduction of the god's cult, or at least an aspect of that cult.[14] The traces suggest a cult-tale of a familiar sort. At a festival Archilochus sang (or perhaps improvised) a song and (?) taught it to a chorus (20-22);[15] a sample is quoted (31-35 = fr. 251).[16] The song seems to have been rejected because it was "too iambic" (ἰαμβικώτερο[ν, 38). The citizens were rendered impotent by the angry god ([ἀσθενεῖς] εἰς τὰ αἰδοῖα, 43-44). They sent to Delphi for an explanation and, it seems, were told to honour Archilochus and presumably accept the song. The word οἰφολίωι, which is preserved at the beginning of line 35, seems to indicate a phallic Dionysus, and, consequently, it is likely that phallic worship is at issue.[17] The story is thus strikingly similar to the tale of the introduction of phallic worship to Athens,[18] and may suggest a festive occasion like that described by Semus of Delos (see p. 31, above).

The inscription places Archilochus and ἴαμβος in the context of the αἰσχρολογία of Dionysiac worship. It is uncertain how Archilochus found his way into this aetiological myth; that songs ascribed to Archilochus (possibly recounting a version of the myth) were

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S. R. Slings in J. M. Bremer *et al.*, *Some Recently Found Greek Poems* (Leiden 1987) 56 f.

[13] On the importance of the cult of Demeter on Paros, see Richardson on *H.Dem.* 491; cf. Jacoby, *FGrHist* 2B (*Komm.*) 762.

[14] The following remarks are largely based on the reconstruction of N. M. Kontoleon, *AE* (1952 [1955]) 76 ff.; cf. W. Peek, *Philologus* 99 (1955) 27 f.; M. Mayo, *Honours to Archilochus: the Parian Archilocheion* (diss. Rutgers 1973) 50 ff.; West, *Studies* 24 f.; C. W. Müller, *RhM* 128 (1985) 99-151, at 123 ff.

[15] This is perhaps reminiscent of fr. 120, which places Archilochus in the context of Dionysiac worship.

[16] If Peek's supplement [αὐτο]σχεδισ ... points in the right direction, there is the suggestion that the song was improvised: see Müller (above, note 14) 125 n. 53, on the implications of the text.

[17] οἰφόλιος appears to be an adjective formed from οἴφω, which means "to copulate." See the full discussion by L. Lehnus, *ScrPhil* 2 (1980) 159-174.

[18] See ΣAr. *Ach.* 243a (pp. 42-43 Wilson); cf. W. Peek, *Philologus* 99 (1955) 4-50, at 27 ff.

performed as part of the phallic worship is a possible conjecture. What is noteworthy in this tale, however, is the way in which ritual inversion is implied. As in the case of many aetiological myths, the narrative seems to reflect the details of ritual. In this instance, the rejection of Archilochus' song is followed by a disruption of the normal order: impotence threatens the process of reproduction and thus the survival of the community. Acceptance of the song restores normality.[19] The inscription does not permit us to determine how these events were enacted in cult, but the pattern of ritual is clear. This observation supports our earlier conclusion concerning the nature of ἴαμβος.

The evidence here surveyed suggests that in antiquity Archilochus was believed to have a connection with the local cults of both Demeter and Dionysus. It matters little how much truth is contained in the tradition; some basis for this cult-connection must have been found, most probably in Archilochus' poetry. In view of our earlier discussion of the cultic background to ἴαμβος, it is possible that Archilochus sang his ἴαμβοι at the festivals of one or both of these gods or on some other such occasion. If this is correct, it is likely that Archilochian ἴαμβος stood close to its cultic roots, although, as we shall see, Archilochus was a sophisticated practitioner of his craft.

The kind of context that we have suggested for the performance of Archilochus' ἴαμβοι may be suggested by fr. 215, which contains the only occurrence of the word ἴαμβος in the extant fragments, although the implications of the line are far from certain:

> καί μ' οὔτ' ἰάμβων οὔτε τερπωλέων μέλει.

This line has received high-handed treatment from some commentators. On the basis of its similarity to the opening lines of Horace, *Epode* 11 (*Petti, nihil me sicut antea iuuat / scribere uersiculos amore percussum graui* ...),[20] Immisch combined it with fr. 196 ,

> ἀλλά μ' ὁ λυσιμελὴς ὦταῖρε δάμναται πόθος.

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[19] We might compare the way in which the Eleusinian Mysteries conclude with an affirmation of fertility (ὕε - κύε): see the sources collected by Burkert, *HN* 293 n. 89.

[20] For other verbal parallels, cf. *H.Herm.* 451, χοροί τε μέλουσι καὶ ἀγλαὸς ὕμνος ἀοιδῆς; *ades. el.* fr. 49 Gentili-Prato = 8 West, οὔ μοι ἔτ' εὐκελάδων ὕμνων μέλει οὐδ' ἔτι μολπῆς.

This arrangement suggests an erotic context: the poet is unable to turn his attention to ἴαμβοι and τερπωλαί because he is smitten with love. Yet, however attractive, this combination does violence to the context in which the line is cited. Tzetzes (*Alleg. Hom.* 24.125-128) tells us that Archilochus' line concerns the death of the poet's brother-in-law by drowning at sea. In this light, it is grief, not love, that affects the poet. Catullus found himself in a similar situation after the death of his brother.[21] Archilochus' line, then, properly belongs among those fragments that deal with the shipwreck in which Archilochus' brother-in-law lost his life.[22]

For our discussion the most important feature of fr. 215 is the occurrence of the word ἴαμβος and its meaning. It is combined with τερπωλή, an uncommon noun that seems to mean "festivity."[23] τερπωλή also recurs in an elegiac passage which Tzetzes quotes after fr. 215 (fr. 11):

> οὔτε τι γὰρ κλαίων ἰήσομαι, οὔτε κάκιον
> θήσω τερπωλὰς καὶ θαλίας ἐφέπων.

Here τερπωλαί are combined with θαλίαι, a word which also occurs in fr. 13, another passage dealing with the shipwreck, in conjunction with the verb derived from the same root as τερπωλαί (1-2). θαλίαι means in both cases "occasions for feasts;"[24] and so τερπωλαί seems also to refer to public festivities. On the basis of this passage, West (*Studies* 25) draws a remarkable inference concerning ἴαμβος in fr. 215: "ἴαμβοι are here something that goes with τερπωλαί, festivity ... . [ἴαμβοι] are surely more than just verses, they are occasions. The poems of his that were known as iambi must have been so called because they were associated with such occasions." Yet is this a reasonable inference? That τερπωλαί and θαλίαι, words of apparently complementary meaning, are connected in fr. 11 does not mean that the two nouns in fr. 215 are related in precisely the same way. There is no other evidence to suggest

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21 Catull. 68A 19-20, 25-26, *sed totum hoc studium luctu fraterna mihi mors / abstulit / ... / cuius ego interitu tota de mente fugaui /haec studia atque omnes delicias animi.* This parallel has been noted by West, *Studies* 137.

22 See M. Treu, *Archilochos* (Munich 1959) 193 f.

23 Although *LSJ* say "Poet. and late prose for τέρψις," the noun is almost certainly formed directly from τέρπομαι: cf. E. Risch, *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache*[2] (Berlin 1974) 109.

24 See W. J. Verdenius, *A Commentary on Hesiod: Works and Days 1-382* (Leiden 1985) 132.

that ἴαμβος was used as a name for an occasion. It is, therefore, more reasonable to attach only the more usual meaning to the word: ἴαμβοι are songs. If ἴαμβοι and τερπωλαί are to be seen together, we may conjecture that ἴαμβοι were songs performed at the occasions designated by τερπωλαί. Moreover, it is noteworthy that in the passage of Catullus quoted above a strikingly similar combination occurs: *studia* (poetic composition) is coupled with *omnes deliciae animi*, a phrase whose meaning seems to be very close to that of τερπωλαί.[25] In the Archilochus passage τερπωλαί may be a word that could be applied to the sort of festivals at which the various performers mentioned by Semus plied their trade.

As we have noted in our general discussion of the genre, invective seems to have been a central characteristic of ἴαμβος, and Archilochus was regarded as early as Pindar as the paradigmatic poet of ψόγος; his poems of invective seem to have exerted a strong fascination on later writers.[26] In this light, it is perhaps surprising that so little direct invective appears among the extant fragments. Archilochus may be the author of the first Strasbourg epode, which is certainly the most impressive example of ψόγος from the early period.[27] If this poem is the work of Archilochus we can form some impression of the artistry that was brought to bear on

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[25] For *studium* as a technical term in literary discussion, see Brink on Hor. *Ars* 409. On the possible influence of Archilochus on the present passage, Kroll (on 19) remarks, "Ob eine direkte Beziehung zu unserer Stelle vorliegt, ist zweifelhaft." Nonetheless, such a relation is possible; Catullus appears to echo the Parian poet in other poems: 40 (cf. Arch. fr. 172), 40.3 (fr. 210), 56 (fr. 168). ἀποσκολύπτειν in Arch. fr. 39 may provide a parallel for *glubo* in Catull. 58.5, although the interpretation of the latter passage is controversial: see J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (Baltimore 1982) 168; H. D. Jocelyn, *LCM* 4.5 (1979) 87-91 (with reference to earlier literature). Nonetheless, it is unlikely that Catullus was directly influenced by Archilochus in 58; whatever its meaning, *glubo* is doubtless a colloquial usage.

[26] Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 2.52-57: see A. M. Miller, *TAPA* 111 (1981) 135-143, for discussion of this passage. Archilochus' reputation in antiquity is surveyed by A. von Blumenthal, *Die Schätzung des Archilochos im Altertume* (Stuttgart 1922); see also Bossi, *Studi* 32 ff.

[27] There is as yet no consensus concerning the attribution of this fragment, although support for Hipponax seems to be growing (cf. recently L. Watson, *Arae: the Curse poetry of Antiquity* [Leeds 1991] 59 f.). West assigns the poems from this papyrus to Hipponax (frr. 115-117). I have been persuaded, however, by the arguments of G. M. Kirkwood, *TAPA* 92 (1961) 267-282, who holds that the case for Archilochian authorship of the first poem is stronger (he supports the ascription of the second to Hipponax). A full bibliography on this issue has been assembled by Degani in the *apparatus* to his Hippon. fr. dub. 194.

invective, as the poet pronounces a sustained malediction on an oath-breaker.[28]

There is no doubt that the best-known examples of Archilochian invective in antiquity were the series of poems written against Lycambes and his family, a feud that is richly attested in our ancient sources for the poet's biography.[29] According to the usual version, Archilochus was promised the hand of Lycambes' daughter, Neobule, in marriage, but for some unspecified reason Lycambes broke the engagement.[30] As a result Archilochus composed fierce poems of invective against Lycambes and his family. Up to this point the ancient reports are unanimous; concerning the results of Archilochus' campaign of invective, however, there is no precise agreement among the sources. All agree that there was suicide, but reports differ concerning who committed suicide.[31]

It is clear from the discrepancies among the ancient *testimonia* that the story of the feud and the consequent suicide cannot be

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[28] For a fine appreciation of the artistry of this poem, see E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 28 f. Another noteworthy passage of direct invective is fr. 196a.24 ff., in which Neobule is attacked (see below).

[29] For recent discussion of the evidence for the feud with Lycambes, see M. Lefkowitz, *Arethusa* 9 (1976) 184-185; H. D. Rankin, *Archilochus of Paros* (Park Ridge, N.J. 1977) 47 ff. and *AC* 44 (1975) 605-611; A. P. Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets* (Cambridge, Mass. 1983) 83 ff.; C. Carey, *CQ* 36 (1986) 60-67 (an important discussion).

[30] Scholars have speculated that the reason was Archilochus' illegitimate birth, mentioned by Critias (88 B 44 DK): see F. Lasserre, *Les épodes d'Archiloque* (Paris 1950) 35 f. This, however, seems unlikely. The marriage would have been carefully negotiated by the two families; and it seems unlikely that the future son-in-law's parentage would have been unknown, especially in a small community such as Seventh Century Paros where everyone would have been familiar with the family history of everyone else. The name of Archilochus' mother given by Critias, Enipo, may be fictitious: see M. G. Bonanno, *MH* 37 (1980) 84 f. It is possible that Critias inferred that Enipo was a slave; to him (a fifth-century Athenian aristocrat) the name may have looked foreign and, therefore, that of a slave.

[31] The ancient sources fall into five categories. 1.) Mention of the suicide of Lycambes himself without reference to other members of the family: ΣHor. *Epod.* 6.13 (4.1.169 Botschuyver); ΣOv. *Ib.* 521 (pp. 156-157 La Penna); ΣHor. *Epod.* 6.13 (1.199 Holder); ΣHor. *Epod.* 6.13-14 (Schol. λ φ ψ 1.229-230 Botschuyver). 2.) Reference to suicide committed by the family as a whole: ΣOv. *Ib.* 54 (p. 10 La Penna). 3.) Mention of Lycambes and one daughter: Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.23-31; Ps.-Acr. Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.30-31; Ps.-Acr. Hor. *Epod.* 6.11 ff. 4.) Mention of daughters without any specification of number: Ades. Pap. fr. 997 *SH*; Dioscorides, *A.P.* 7.351 = 1555-1564 Gow-Page *HE;* Meleager, *A.P.* 7.352 = 4740-4749 Gow-Page *HE;* Julian, *A.P.* 7.70; Ps.-Acr. Hor. *Epod.* 6.13 (also 3, above); Ter. Maur. *De metris* 2456 (*Gramm. Lat.* 6.398 Keil); ΣHeph. p. 281 Consbruch. 5.) Reference to a specific number of daughters: Julian, *A.P.* 7.69; Gaetulicus, *A.P.* 7.71.

accepted uncritically. Not all of these reports are contradictory. In particular it need not be inferred from those sources that mention only Lycambes or the daughters that the writers are maintaining that no other member of the Lycambid family took his or her life; it may have been thought unnecessary or inappropriate to mention others. But the fluctuation of the number of daughters is puzzling and demands an explanation. What is the basis of these conflicting reports?

The extant fragments of Archilochus are of little help in considering this problem. As we shall see, there is evidence to show that Archilochus wrote invectives against Lycambes, and the fragments are sufficient to give us some idea of the poet's attack. There are references to Neobule and, in fr. 196a, to her (possibly younger) sister, and likely to a mother, Amphimedo. Yet there is extant no trace of the basis upon which later critics and commentators constructed their accounts of suicide.

The stumbling-block to any proposed solution is Gaetulicus' poem with its reference to three daughters (*A.P.* 7.71). If we suppose that it is merely an aberration,[32] we may be able to reconcile the other reports. If Archilochus mentioned the suicide in a poem, the reference must have been to the Lycambids without any specific details. Later commentators would have inferred or invented the details. Ancient writers seem to have left themselves a great deal of latitude for interpretation and speculation. If this is correct, commentators faced with a reference to suicide would have searched the poetry in an attempt to assemble the members of the Lycambid family and discern the identity of the suicide-victims.[33] This would account for the lack of uniformity among ancient sources.

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[32] It is possible that three girls were inferred from a misreading of fr. 196a. Gaetulicus or his source could have identified the speaker's interlocutor as one daughter, the girl referred to in lines 4-8 as a second, and Neobule (24-34) as the third. It could also be that Gaetulicus has simply made an error.

[33] Another recent theory is that proposed by A. Aloni, *Le muse di Archiloco* (Copenhagen 1981) 137, who suggests that the multiple daughters arose from the contemplation of the numerous poems which Archilochus wrote about them. On this view, the many unspecific references to a daughter of Lycambes gave the impression of many daughters. This view seems improbable: such an understanding assumes very careless—not to say thoughtless—reading of Archilochus' poetry. Yet he was likely the object of careful scholarly scrutiny. We know of at least one monograph on Archilochus from the Hellenistic period: see R. Pfeiffer, *A History of Classical Scholarship* 1 (Oxford 1967) 144 f.

It is, however, strange that a poem could have existed in which Archilochus alluded to the suicide, and that it was not quoted and preserved. It is possible that the tradition of suicide had a very different origin. Archilochus may have said something from which the story of suicide was itself inferred. In one of the invectives, for example, the poet may have expressed the view that Lycambes' disgrace is so complete that he would have no other choice but suicide. Heraclitus says something strikingly similar about the Ephesians after they exiled his friend, Hermodorus (fr. 105 Marcovich = 22 B 121 DK), suggesting that the adult males would do well to hang themselves and leave the city to the unfledged boys (ἄξιον Ἐφεσίοις ἡβαδὸν ἀπάγξασθαι πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἀνήβοις τὴν πόλιν καταλιπεῖν).[34] Early Greek society was a culture whose values revolved around the notions of honour and shame; a man's worth was directly related to the community's opinion of him.[35] On the basis of some of the ancient *testimonia* (especially the epigrams by Dioscorides and Meleager) and the extant fragments of the Lycambes poetry, it seems very probable that Archilochus' invectives were designed to shame the family and destroy its standing in the community. Suicide would not be an implausible response.[36]

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[34] On the background to this passage, see R. Mondolfo and L. Tarán, *Eraclito: testimonianze e imitazioni* (Florence 1972) 17-18.

[35] See the classic statement by E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley 1951) 28 ff.; cf. A. W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility* (Oxford 1960) 48 f., 154-156; K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* (Oxford 1974) 236-242; J. Gould, *CR* 28 (1978) 287. On the persistence of such attitudes, P. Walcot, *Greek Peasants: Ancient and Modern* (Manchester 1970) 57-93. In recognizing the importance of shame in early Greek society, I do not subscribe fully to the view that there was a radical move away from shame-values to the values of a guilt-culture that culminated in the fourth century. For criticism of this view (largely that of Dodds and Adkins), see H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus*^{2} (Berkeley 1983) 24-26, and *AA* 33 (1987) 1-28 = *Academic Papers: Greek Comedy, etc.* 253-280; Dover, *op. cit.* 220; D. L. Cairns, *Aidos: the Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Literature* (Oxford 1993) 27 ff., and *passim*; B. Williams, *Shame and Necessity* (Berkeley 1993).

[36] In tragedy there are passages where suicide is seen as a means of avoiding shame. In Sophocles' *Trachiniae* Deianira sees a life of shame as unendurable (721-722); similar sentiments are expressed at *Aj.* 479 and *El.* 989. More noteworthy is the reaction of Euripides' Heracles to the revelation of the murder committed by him in madness (*HF* 1146-1152). What is striking about that passage is the way in which Heracles' guilt (or at least what a modern reader would describe as guilt) is externalized: Heracles fears δύσκλεια (1152), and the implications of that δύσκλεια are made clear at lines 1281-1290. Public mockery is something to be avoided, even if suicide is the only means of doing so: cf. Eur. *Hel.* 134-136 and 200-202.

It is noteworthy that the majority of early references to suicide are to death by hanging.[37] In the tradition of suicide of the Lycambids death by hanging is the one point upon which all ancient sources agree. If Archilochus did not mention the actual suicide, he may have said something similar to what Heraclitus said about the Ephesians (e.g., "Lycambes, you're a joke! You might as well go hang yourself, you and your whole family!").[38] In view of the strong tradition of suicide as a response to shame, ancient commentators may have concluded that such a suicide did in fact occur. It may be that at a later date the passage from which the suicide was originally inferred had already been lost, or that the original passage seemed to later eyes an inadequate basis for the story once the tradition had been firmly established and developed.

The proposed explanation, however, is open to the objection that a passage which generated the tradition would likely have survived. Scepticism is not inappropriate, and scholars have often doubted the historicity of the detail of suicide.[39] The usual objection is that such a reaction to poetic invective is improbable in itself,[40] but from the foregoing discussion suicide or at least a reference to suicide is not implausible, however much it might be unlikely in a modern setting. At this point it seems opportune to question the assumption that underlies much recent discussion of ancient biographical practice. Is it sound to believe that all details in the ancient biographies of poets must be derived from their works? The answer must be no. What cannot be discounted is the survival of local traditions which developed independently from the poets.[41] The question of the suicide of the Lycambids cannot be resolved with any certainty. The story may well be fiction, derived from a

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[37] On hanging and other methods of suicide, see D. E. Gerber in *Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honour of Leonard Woodbury* (Chico 1984) 133.

[38] Cf. the reference to γέλως in fr. 172. For the wish for death to both the malefactor and his family, cf. (e.g.) the formula in the public imprecation from Teos (*CIG* 3044): κε̃νον ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κένο.

[39] See recently Carey (above, note 29) 60. In light of similar stories told of Semonides and Hipponax, Degani, *Studi* 88 n. 27, argues that the story of suicide is a conventional fiction told in the context of any poetic quarrel; cf also R. M. Rosen, *TAPA* 118 (1988) 29-41, at 33 n. 15.

[40] Cf., e.g., G. W. Bond, *Hermathena* 80 (1952) 3-11, at 11.

[41] See the remarks of A. Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (Cambridge, Mass. 1971; rev. 1993) 27 f. Archilochus was also adopted by Delphi at an early date and seems to have been subjected to their myth-making machine: see G. Tarditi, *PP* 11 (1956) 134 ff.

speculative inference. But it is equally possible that the tale is historical and that the ancient sources merely reflect the state of a local, oral tradition. In view of the important rôle played by shame in early Greek society, the tale is not in itself improbable. Certainty is perhaps impossible.

When we turn from the biographical tradition to the surviving fragments, we discover that references to the Lycambes story are relatively rare. Modern scholars have been eager to uncover allusions to the famous stories in the *extantia*. In *IEG*², for example, West misleadingly states that frr. 30-87 are *de Lycambae filiabus* (he adds to the confusion by including *fragmenta papyracea minora* in this section as well). Of these passages only frr. 38, 54, 57, 60 and 71 can be said with any confidence to concern Lycambes or his daughters (in all but the first the readings of importance are to a degree conjectural).[42] Moreover, there are in this section a few fragments that are clearly not relevant to the Lycambid affair.[43]

In addition to two concentrations of evidence, namely the fragments from the famous epode (frr. 172-181) and the so-called Cologne epode (fr. 196A), the longest extant sample of the poet's work, there are but a few scattered references to the Lycambids among the extant fragments. Although these passages are often tantalizingly suggestive, little emerges with any clarity concerning either the feud with Lycambes or Archilochian ἴαμβος. It will prove more profitable to concentrate on the two epodes.

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[42] Although it does contain a reference to Neobule, fr. 33 contains no direct quotation of the poet's words and should accordingly be regarded as a *testimonium*.

[43] In many instances certainty is impossible. A number of passages are graphic in their depiction of sexuality: notably frr. 40, 41, 42 (see D. E. Gerber, *QUCC* 22 [1976] 7-14), 43, 44 (? if ἀφρός = semen; cf. Diog. Apoll. 64 A 24 and B 6 DK, *Orph. fr.* 183 Kern—but cf. Aesch. fr. 372 Radt, ἀφρὸς / βορᾶς βροτείας ἐρρύη κατὰ στόμα). From the later *testimonia* it seems likely that Archilochus composed one or more sexual narratives, recounting erotic encounters with the daughters of Lycambes (cf. especially Dioscorides, *A.P.* 7.351 = 1555 ff. Gow-Page *HE*); fr. 196a may belong to one such narrative. In addition, Neobule was described in terms suggestive of a prostitute (δῆμος, ἐργάτις, μυσαχνή, frr. 207-209; for a similar collection of terms, cf. Anacr. frr. 163-165 Gentili = 446 *PMG*). Yet this does not allow us to assume without positive support that the sexual passages listed above concern the daughters of Lycambes. Still more doubtful is the reference of frr. 30 and 31 (often combined). Synesius cites the latter passage as a description of a ἑταίρα. The lines could describe Neobule, but it is not impossible, nor is it unlikely, that Archilochus composed poems about ἑταῖραι and πόρναι (cf. fr. 302, a complaint similar to that of Alc. fr. 117b.26 Voigt).

The epode containing the fable of the fox and the eagle seems to be the best known of Archilochus' poems about Lycambes and his family. West pronounces it "the most famous poem of the most famous archaic poet after Hesiod and Homer."[44] The epode does not survive in its complete form, but we know its metre and the substance of the fable and are thus enabled to collect together those fragments which are suitable.[45]

The extant evidence for the epode, then, is such that we can determine its content to a certain extent.[46] The opening lines are preserved (fr. 172):

πάτερ Λυκάμβα, ποῖον ἐφράσω τόδε;
  τίς σὰς παρήειρε φρένας
ἧς τὸ πρὶν ἠρήρησθα; νῦν δὲ δὴ πολὺς
  ἀστοῖσι φαίνεαι γέλως.

With this passage we are on solid ground; for once the reference to Lycambes does not depend on a speculative restoration of a papyrus, as is the case in passages such as frr. 54, 57, and 60. The poem

[44] M. L. West, *CQ* 29 (1979) 1. In this paper West detects a number of passages in the parodos of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* which appear to be influenced by Archilochus' fable. R. Janko, *CQ* 30 (1980) 291-293, holds that West's suspicion of the poem's influence is confirmed by *Cho.* 246-251 and 255-259 (cf. Garvie on 246). In *ZPE* 45 (1982) 30-32, West finds specific echoes of the extant fragments in later texts: Ps.-Callisth. *Hist. Alex. Magni* p. 57 Kroll 48-51 (cf. fr. 176); Babr. Fab. 137 Luzzato-La Penna (cf. fr. 179); *Ades.* fr. 970.11-13 *SH* (cf. fr. 181.12). The first of these is very doubtful. These passages may serve to complement the *testimonia* of the biographical tradition which attests to the notoriety of Archilochus' poetry on the Lycambids. But in the passages adduced by West and others in which specific influence of the epode is seen there is a need for caution. As M. Davies, *Hermes* 109 (1981) 248-251, warns, it is uncertain whether these various authors were influenced by the fable in its Archilochian setting or by the Aesopic version. It may be significant that when Aristophanes (*Av.* 651) refers to the fable, he ascribes it to Aesop, although he seems to echo Archilochus' epode at 652-653 (cf. Dunbar *ad loc.*).

[45] West prints the frr. as 172-181. This is indeed a sober choice. One, however, is doubtful, *viz.* fr. 178: see Bossi, *Studi* 191-196. Of the numerous passages speculatively assigned to the epode by Lasserre (above, note 30) 28-52, one has better claim than many others, namely fr. 210 (ibid. 32 f.), τίς ἆρα δαίμων, καὶ τέου χολούμενος; This lines finds a strong echo in Catull. 40.3, a poem strongly influenced by Arch. fr. 172: see the commentaries of Kroll and Fordyce. In this light, it is striking to find an echo of fr. 210 in a poem influenced by the Lycambes epode. Fr. 210, then, could easily have followed fr. 172; divine anger may have been incited by the breaking of the oath (fr. 173; see below).

[46] For discussion of the fragments and *testimonia*, see Lasserre (above, note 30) 38-52; West, *Studies* 132-134; Bossi, *Studi* 187-206.

begins with an address to Lycambes; in this way the first words announce the subject of the poem and, as we shall see, the object of its invective. Lycambes is called πάτερ, a word placed emphatically at the beginning of the verse. In epic πάτηρ can be used in the address of an older man whose name is not known, that is to say, a stranger.[47] In the present passage, however, the usage is probably insulting, especially since it is combined with a vocative of a proper name; not only does the word underline Lycambes' rôle as a father of daughters, but the address effectively treats Lycambes as a stranger and so puts him outside the community, and this is an anticipation of the general thrust of Archilochus' invective.[48] Lycambes' rôle as a father is also clear in the other references to Lycambes among the passages discussed above. As I shall argue, there is a programmatic element in the epode; the poet makes clear the manner in which he will achieve his revenge: Lycambes, as father, will be attacked through his daughters.

In fr. 172 Lycambes is reproached as one who has formed a plan (ἐφράσω) that seems to be the product of a deranged mind, although formerly he was a man of sense. This failure of judgment has led to the ruination of his position in the community. We have no sure means of ascertaining the reference of ἐφράσω. It is possible that the verb here refers to a plan that was ultimately given public expression (cf. the emphasis on ἀστοῖσι). In view of the biographical tradition, we can conjecture that the question ποῖον ἐφράσω τόδε; refers to the broken engagement. Although this detail is not strongly attested by the fragments, it may be the context for fr. 197, the first line of a poem:

> Ζεῦ πάτερ, γάμον μὲν οὐκ ἐδαισάμην

The marriage that the speaker did not celebrate may well have been that with Neobule.[49]

Undoubtedly the last sentence of fr. 172 is the most important. Lycambes is revealed as a γέλως to his fellow-townsmen. The

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[47] *Il.* 24.362 (perhaps an exceptional case: see Mcleod *ad loc.*); *Od.* 7.28, 48, 8.145, 17.553.

[48] I am indebted to Prof. S. R. Slings for this suggestion. For the emphasis on Lycambes as a father, cf. also the remarks by Carey (above, note 29) 60.

[49] As always, we should acknowledge the dangers inherent in the fragmentary evidence. Even though fr. 197 is the first line, the lost poem could have begun with a speech (cf. fr. 19; Hor. *Epod.* 2 may have had antecedents in earlier literature).

reason for this seems to be the course of action represented by ἐφράσω. It is important to note that Archilochus presents Lycambes' position as the result of public judgment. There is no suggestion in the fragment that Archilochus is ridiculing his enemy; the poet presents himself as reflecting public opinion. The poet seeks to uphold this unfavourable judgment in his poem; he does not seek to establish it.

γέλως is a crucial word. It was suggested above that if the Lycambids did in fact commit suicide, the motive was probably shame. In a shame-culture public ridicule (ἀστοῖσι ... γέλως) is a powerful force, and it seems likely that Archilochus' campaign of invective was an attempt to destroy Lycambes' standing in the community by exposing him to public ridicule.

An interesting parallel for this strategy of revenge is to be found in the story of Ares and Aphrodite in the *Odyssey* (8.266-366). The tale is well known: Hephaestus learns of the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite and seeks vengeance by means of his τέχνη. He catches them *in flagrante* with a trap and summons the other gods, who subject the lovers to mockery. The emphasis on public γέλως is noteworthy.[50] The suggestion that public γέλως is an important manifestation of shame finds confirmation in later texts. Some of the most revealing passages are to be found in Sophocles' *Ajax*. In the play Ajax is moved to end his own life because of the shame that resulted from his madness; the hero particularizes his shame in an external form: γέλως at the hands of his enemies.[51] Fear of γέλως also moved Medea to infanticide and murder in Euripides' play (cf. 381-383, 1049-1050, especially 797). These two plays are simply two of the more striking works in which the fear of public ridicule is a significant motif.[52] In Archilochus' epode the implications of γέλως in fr. 172 are more serious than many commentators have allowed.[53]

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[50] See my reading of this episode in *Phoenix* 43 (1989) 283-293. It is perhaps significant that Hephaestus' strategy for revenge seems similar to the fox's treatment of the monkey in an Aesopic fable (81 Perry) that was used by Archilochus in an epode (frr. 185-187).

[51] Cf. lines 79, 367, 382, 955-957. The theme of laughter in the play has been studied by G. Grossmann, *MH* 25 (1968) 65-85, who argues that Sophocles has developed a motif from the *Ilias Parua*.

[52] On the whole issue of the rôle of laughter in Greek literature, see S. Halliwell, *CQ* 41 (1991) 279-296.

[53] Podlecki, *Early Gr. Poets* 49, remarks of fr. 172, "This seems rather mild for one who had a reputation of being 'harsh-tongued'." Burnett (above, note

The reason for Archilochus' hostility is suggested by fr. 173:

ὅρκον δ' ἐνοσφίσθης μέγαν
ἅλας τε καὶ τράπεζαν.

The oath mentioned is usually seen to be the one sworn by Lycambes when promising his daughter to Archilochus.[54] This view finds some support in Dio Chrysostom, who alludes to this fragment in connection with the marriage-agreement.[55] Yet the reference to ἅλας τε καὶ τράπεζαν suggests that the oath did not concern exclusively the marriage-agreement, but was an oath of friendship.[56] Such an oath would have entailed an elaborate ritual with sacrifice,[57] and, consequently, its transgression would be a serious matter. Violation of friendship was in itself a serious matter;[58] that the friendship in question was sealed by solemn oath would compound the offence. There are numerous passages that indicate the gravity of the offence. In the first Strasbourg epode (fr. 193 Tarditi) the poet wishes a fearful fate upon an enemy who has broken faith. Similarly, Alcaeus vigorously attacks Pittacus for treading on his oaths (fr. 129.21-24 Voigt). In the Theognidean corpus we find a poem of invective written against someone who has deceived the speaker in friendship (599-602); although there is no mention of a formal oath, it is significant that the addressee's transgression is seen as an offence against both gods and men (cf. line 601). To deceive or break faith with a friend is to violate a basic law that governs human intercourse. Hesiod cites the breakdown of the bonds of friendship along with those of family as indicative of the degeneration of human society (*Erga* 182-184); an additional

29) 64 sees little that is abusive in the fragments of the poem and believes that "The only possible conclusion is that direct personal abuse was never a part of the poet's true purpose here."

[54] West, *Studies* 132, summarizes frr. 172 and 173 as follows: the poem "opened with an expostulation addressed to Lycambes, represented as having gone back on a promise to give his daughter to Archilochus in marriage."

[55] Dio Chrys. 74.16 (2.198.10 von Arnim), τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον οὐδὲν ὤνησαν αἱ ἅλες καὶ ἡ τράπεζα πρὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῶν γάμων, ὥς φησιν αὐτός. The Archilochus fragment may be related to the proverb ἅλας καὶ τράπεζαν μὴ παραβαίνειν: see the references collected by Tarditi to his fr. 179.

[56] Cf. Arist. *EN* 1156b27: κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰδῆσαι ἀλλήλους πρὶν τοὺς λεγομένους ἅλας συναλῶσαι; cf. Dem. 19.189, 191; Aesch. 3.224.

[57] For a description of the rite, see Burkert, *GR* 250-254. The reference to the τράπεζα may allude to the sacrificial component of the rite: see D. Gill, *HTR* 67 (1974) 117-137, on the sacred use of τράπεζαι.

[58] This is a theme of the *Theognidea* (e.g. 91-96, 575-576, 811-814).

indication is falsity in oaths (*ibid.* 194; cf. *Thgn.* 1139). In this light, Archilochus has placed his feud with Lycambes within the context of the violation of an oath of friendship. Consequently, Lycambes is presented not merely as a personal enemy, but as a malefactor who threatens the very stability of society.

That Archilochus chose to present Lycambes' offence in this light is noteworthy. However much Lycambes' broken oath was a matter of personal concern, the poet has set the issue in a larger, social framework. Consideration of this should lead us to view with suspicion those portraits of Archilochus in which he is depicted as a renegade and outsider who rejects the values of his society.[59]

The central feature of Archilochus' epode was the account of the fable of the fox and the eagle.[60] An Aesopic fable is also told in an epode addressed to Cerycides (frr. 185-187), and it seems that the

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[59] E.g. Rankin (above, note 29) 95, "Archilochus was by the nature of his personality an 'outsider' and his individualism isolated him not only in his own times, but in ours." This sort of view of Archilochus is the by-product of the influential proposition that Archilochus was the first individual to raise his voice in song in the Greek tradition: for influential statements, see B. Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind* tr. T. G. Rosenmeyer (Cambridge, Mass. 1953) 46 ff.; Fränkel, *EGPP* 132 ff.; Kirkwood, *EGM* 23 ff. Although this approach to the Greek mind has much to teach us, the conclusions have been exaggerated: for criticism, see H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus*^{2} (Berkeley 1983) *passim*; R. L. Fowler, *The Nature of Early Greek Lyric: Three Preliminary Studies* (Toronto 1987) 4 ff.

Archilochus' rejection of traditional values has largely been inferred from two passages: fr. 5, on the loss of his shield, and fr. 114, in which he contrasts two στρατηγοί (both texts are discussed together, e.g., by Kirkwood 32-34). But neither of these fragments should necessarily be interpreted as a rejection of traditional values: for discussion, see D. E. Gerber, *Euterpe* (Amsterdam 1971) 15 and 27; J. Russo, *GRBS* 15 (1974) 139-152; B. Seidensticker, *GRBS* 19 (1978) 5-22. On fr. 5, in particular, see T. Schwertfeger, *Chiron* 12 (1982) 253-280, who shows that the criticism of Archilochus in antiquity for the loss of his shield is not valid for Archilochus' own time. Note also the γνώμη (Men. *Monost.* 56 Jäkel), ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται.

Recently C. Miralles and J. Pòrtulas, *Archilochus and the Iambic Poetry* (Rome 1983) 11-60, have, largely on the basis of anthropological material from other cultures, sought to develop the view of the iambic poet as "trickster," who "assumes the role of a sacrilegious challenger who manages to live isolated from any organized community." Yet it is very difficult to apply this framework to Archilochus: the fragments offer no firm support, and the biographical tradition suggests that he was anything but a marginal figure (see above).

[60] For bibliography, see West, *Studies* 132 n. 4, to which add T. Karadagli, *Fabel und Ainos: Studien zur griechischen Fabel* (*Beiträge zur klass. Phil.* 135: Königstein/Ts. 1981) 13-14; S. Jedrkiewicz, *Sapere e paradosso nell'antichità: Esopo e la favola* (Rome 1989) 312-318.

use of such fables was characteristic of ἴαμβος, although determining which fragments refer to fables is highly problematic.[61]

In the case of the epode against Lycambes the lines introducing the fable are extant (fr. 174):

> αἶνός τις ἀνθρώπων ὅδε,
> ὡς ἆρ' ἀλώπηξ καἰετὸς ξυνεωνίην
> ἔμειξαν.

In the epode addressed to Cerycides the fable is introduced in a similar way (fr. 185.1, ἐρέω τιν' ὕμιν αἶνον, ὦ Κηρυκίδης). The language in both these passages is similar in form to that employed by Hesiod in introducing the fable of the hawk and the nightingale (*Erga* 202, νῦν δ' αἶνον βασιλεῦσ' ἐρέω ...); it seems likely that both poets are using a traditional story-telling device.[62]

Although we lack Archilochus' account of the fable, the Aesopic corpus preserves the story (*Fab.* 1 Perry):[63] a fox and an eagle become friends and decide to live close by each other. One day the eagle carries off the fox's cubs to feed her own young. Upon discovering the crime, the fox is unable to exact vengeance herself because the eagle, high in its nest, is inaccessible to a land-dwelling animal. Accordingly, the fox does the only thing left to

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61 F. Lasserre in *La Fable* (*Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 30: Vandœuvres-Geneva 1984) 61-96, offers a full (and often speculative) account of the rôle of the fable in archaic Greek poetry. On pp. 63-64 he turns his attention to Archilochus. In addition to the two fables certainly attested for the Parian poet, he attempts to see more references to fables among the extant fragments. 1) Fr. 226 (225 in Lasserre's text must be an error) is said to be from an account of the fable of the sick lion (Babr. 95 and 103 Luzzato-LaPenna). 2) Fr. 51 LB (a fragment rightly rejected by most editors) concerns Aes. *Fab.* 44 Perry. 3) Frr. 182-183 may allude to Aes. *Fab.* 161 Perry. 4) In fr. 237 Archilochus, according to Lasserre, declines a mercenary's offer by using the fable of the wolf and the lion (Babr. 100 Luzzato-LaPenna) and the fable of the partridge and the farmer (Aes. *Fab.* 215 Perry). A glance at these various proposals should indicate just how speculative this procedure is. None of Lasserre's suggestions stands outside the realm of possibility; but in each case the Archilochian passage is too slight to provide any firm support. In his contribution to the same volume (105-128) M. L. West remarks (p. 112), "Archilochus, as we know, used fables in at least two of his Epodes; there may have been others, though I regard the attempts to identify others as excessively speculative." For Semonides' use of the Aesopic fable, see below.

62 Cf. *Il.* 1.297, etc.. (ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω ...); Hes. *Erga* 106 (ἕτερόν τοι ἐγὼ λόγον ἐκκορυφώσω ...); Xenoph. fr. 6.1 Gentili-Prato = 21 B 7.1 DK (νῦν αὖτ' ἄλλον ἔπειμι ...); especially, Mosch. *TrGF* 97 F 8.1 (ἦν ἄρα τρανὸς αἶνος ἀνθρώπων ὅδε ...).

63 There are also references to the fable at Ar. *Av.* 651-653; Phaedr. 1.28; *Fab. Synt.* 24 Perry (*Aesopica* 1.536).

those who are impotent, she curses her enemy. Shortly thereafter, the eagle carries off a smouldering offering from an altar, and the ember causes her nest and eaglets to catch fire; the young then fall to the ground, where they are eaten up by the fox in full view of the eagle.

A number of fragments of Archilochus can be seen to reflect details of the Aesopic version of the fable,[64] but there are differences. In fr. 174 the friendship (ξυνεωνίη) of the fox and eagle is mentioned. This receives a fairly neutral expression in the Aesopic version as printed by Perry (φιλίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιησάμενοι). Yet fr. 173 seems to refer to an oath of friendship. Does this have any point of contact with the fable? It is striking to note that ποιησάμενοι is not transmitted unanimously by the paradosis: σπεισάμενοι (Mb) and συνθέμενοι (Pb) are variants. Both of these alternatives can be parallelled in the texts of other fables.[65] σπεισάμενοι and συνθέμενοι, moreover, suggest a more formal agreement with some suggestion of an oath than does the text adopted by Perry. σπεισάμενοι implies an agreement sealed by libation to the gods; συνθέμενοι can refer to the swearing of an oath.[66] Choice between these various readings is difficult. It can be argued, however, that ποιησάμενοι is a trivialization and that σπεισάμενοι which is palaeographically closer to ποιησάμενοι, is the *difficilior lectio.* Accordingly, σπεισάμενοι seems preferable; it is in fact printed by Hausrath in the Teubner edition.[67] With the text constituted, therefore, in this way (or with συνθέμενοι), the Aesopic text mirrors what must have been an important part of Archilochus' poem. It is possible that fr. 174 with its neutral reference to the friendship of the fox and the

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64 Of particular relevance to the following discussion are West, *Studies* 132-134, and Bossi, *Studi* 190-206.

65 σπεισάμενοι: *Fab.* 35.1 Perry, ἄνθρωπόν ποτε λέγεται πρὸς σάτυρον φιλίαν σπείσασθαι; *Fab.* 145.9 Perry, φιλίαν σπενδομένους; *Fab.* 149.1 Perry, κοινωνίαν εἰς ἀλλήλους σπεισαμένους (Ia: στειλαμένους G Pg Mb Pa Pc [Perry]); *Fab.* 151 Perry, κοινωνίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους σπεισάμενοι (Pb Pc Mb: ποιησάμενοι G Pa [Perry]). συνθέμενοι: *Fab.* 191.1, κοινωνίαν συνθέμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους; *Fab.* 396.3 Hausrath (not in Perry), φιλίαν συνθεμένους.

66 *Thgn.* 824, θεῶν ὅρκια συνθέμενος; cf. 306, συνθέμενοι φιλίην; Xen. *An.* 2.5.8, συνθέμενοι φιλίαν; Hdt. 1.275, Ἴωσι ξεινίην συνεθήκατο. This variant recalls ἔθεντο, which replaces ἔμειξαν in some later sources for Archilochus' fragment. In both cases the variant seems to be a trivialization of the text.

67 In *IEG*^{2} 1.71 West accepts Perry's text, but in doing so he has perhaps been influenced by his belief that the fables were transmitted without regard for style and wording: see his remarks in *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique* (Stuttgart 1973) 128 f.; cf. also B. E. Perry, *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop* (Haverford 1936) 71 ff.

eagle (ξυνεωνίην / ἔμειξαν) was followed by a passage in which the formal nature of that friendship was indicated.

Although lacunose, fr. 175 seems to describe the eagle carrying the fox's cubs to her nest (cf. especially 1-2, ἐς παῖ]δας φέρων / δαῖ]τα δ' οὐ καλὴν ἐπ[ὶ). A scholion on the fifth line, which West prints in his *apparatus*, seems to mention fire. As a result, it might be possible to understand the δαῖ]τα δ' οὐ καλὴν as the smouldering victim; but, as West points out, in fr. 176 "the young eagles and the location of the nest are described circumstantially, as if this was the first mention of them" (*Studies* 133). He therefore seems correct in concluding that the meal is the fox-cub(s). Fr. 176 describes the location of the nest:

> ὁρᾷς ἵν' ἐστὶ κεῖνος ὑψηλὸς πάγος,
> τρηχύς τε καὶ παλίγκοτος;
> ἐν τῷ κάθηται, σὴν ἐλαφρίζων μάχην.

In the Aesopic version the nest was located in a tree; here it is on a high crag. The speaker of these lines has puzzled commentators.[68] The most economical solution is that proposed by Mette, who holds that in this fragment the fox addresses herself and expresses frustration that the nest is inaccessible.[69] The prayer to Zeus in fr. 177 probably prepares for the fox's appeal for vengeance, a passage which is cast in the form of a prayer:[70]

> ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος,
> σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾷς
> λεωργὰ καὶ θεμιστά, σοὶ δὲ θηρίων
> ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει.

True to the anthropomorphized world of the beast-fable, justice exists in the world of men and animals alike.[71] In the present

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[68] For the various proposals, see West, *Studies* 133, and Bossi, *Studi* 199 f. One of the more attractive proposals is that the lines were spoken by the eagle, taunting the fox; but this is possible only if we emend κάθηται to κάθημαι, an emendation of Meineke (Tarditi adopts the conjecture, but incorrectly attributes it to Bergk: see Bossi 199).

[69] H. J. Mette, *MH* 18 (1961) 35, a view adopted by West, *Studies* 133.

[70] The repetition of the vocative is characteristic of ancient prayer: see Norden on Verg. *A.* 6.46. For the use of ὁρᾷς in prayers to Zeus, see the numerous passages collected by Pease on Verg. *A.* 4.208.

[71] This is not the usual Greek view, which held that men were distinguished from animals by the possession of justice: see U. Dierauer, *Tier und Mensch im Denken der Antike* (Amsterdam 1977) 15-16; H. Rahm, *Gnomon* 51

passage the reference may be pointed, since the fable is relevant to both the eagle, an animal, and to Lycambes, a man. The fox's prayer is reflected by the fox's curse in the Aesopic version (τῷ ἐχθρῷ κατηρᾶτο).[72] The appeal to Zeus is for justice, but there may be some suggestion of Ζεὺς ὅρκιος; this would be particularly apt in view of the reference to the oath in the poem. West ascribes fr. 178 to the epode, but this is very uncertain; if it does belong its context is very obscure (see above, n. 45). Fr. 179 refers to the meal of the smouldering victim:

προύθηκε παισὶ δεῖπνον αἰηνὲς φέρων.

δεῖπνον αἰηνὲς probably means "grievous dinner."[73] The punishment of the eagle is curious. That the means of punishment is a sacrificial victim may imply that the fate of the eagle is an answer to the fox's prayer. It may also be that the act of stealing from an altar reflects the base and essentially impious nature. Elsewhere there is some evidence to indicate that the theft of sacrificial meat is characteristic of low individuals.[74] Fr. 180,

πυρὸς δ' ἐν αὐτῷ φεψάλυξ,

seems to belong to the description of the burning nest. Fr. 181 is very fragmentary; it may depict the eagle's reaction to the burning nest. West (*Studies* 134) suggests that σὸς δὲ θυμὸς ἔλπεται (12) belongs to a final address to Lycambes, but this is uncertain.

It now remains to consider the difficult question of the relevance of the fable to Archilochus and his victim. Meuli has argued that the animal-fable is a means of delivering criticism from a distance.[75] It is clear that Achilochus is using the fable against

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(1979) 713-717. The earliest passage to make this distinction is Hes. *Erga* 277-285, lines which are highly suggestive when set alongside the Archilochian fragment. The importance of δίκη is underlined by reference to the animal-world, and δίκη is particularized by the oath, an institution of considerable importance to Archilochus' feud with Lycambes.

72 For the curse in ἴαμβος, see Watson (above, note 27) 56 ff., and 38 ff. on the rôle of justice in ancient curses generally. On the latter point, see also H. S. Versnel in C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink (edd.), *Magika Hiera: Ancient Magic and Religion* (New York 1991) 60-106.

73 See West, *Studies* 133-134, where other possibilities are mentioned.

74 Cf. the description of the weasel-woman at Sem. fr. 7.55-56. See H. Lloyd-Jones, *Females of the Species* (London 1974) 78; Kroll on Catull. 59.2 f. Also relevant is the term βωμολόχος: cf. *LSJ* s.v.

75 K. Meuli, *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 10 (1954) 65-88 = *Ges. Schr.* 2.731-756.

Lycambes. But how does it work in context? Karadagli sees the fable as belonging to the class of "Fabel der Situation."[76] Such a fable is told in a specific context and is truly meaningful only when seen in light of that context.[77] However attractive this position may appear, it is highly problematic. Most commentators view the fable as relevant to Lycambes in only a general way. Karadagli holds that the fable communicates to Lycambes a moral: "wer die Freundschaft verrät, der wird früher oder später bestraft."[78] As many commentators point out, Lycambes is identified with the eagle and Archilochus with the fox;[79] Lycambes has wronged Archilochus by breaking faith as the eagle has wronged the fox; but no one has determined how the specific details of the fable are relevant to Archilochus and Lycambes.

That the fable merely communicates a moral in a general way is not good enough. It is true that myth can function in this way in early Greek poetry; but myth and fable are not the same. Myth is paradigmatic and so a more general reference is to be expected; fable, on the other hand, is paraenetic and thus, on the sort of view developed by Meuli, one expects a closer connection between the fable and the context in which it is told. This expectation is particularly to the point if Archilochus invented the fable for his epode.[80] It is in this light that Latte concluded that the fable did not belong to the epode.[81]

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[76] Karadagli (above, note 60) 6-7. This classification is developed from Meuli (above).

[77] This seems to suggest that Karadagli believes that the fable was original with Archilochus; but see below.

[78] Karadagli 14. Cf. Burnett (above, note 29) 63 f.: "Lycambes was thus warned that if he enriched his own household by raiding those of his friends he would eventually harm himself, but this is hardly damaging to his reputation, nor would it have provoked scorn on the part of the listener."

[79] Archilochus may also identify himself with the fox in fr. 185. For Archilochus and the fox, see Pl. *Resp.* 2.365a; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 55.10; possibly Pind. *Pyth.* 2.77 (cf. 55 ff.).

[80] This is certainly possible, but it cannot be proved. It may be a traditional fable; it was regarded as Aesopic as early as Aristophanes (*Av.* 651, ἐν Αἰσώπου λόγοις). W. Burkert, *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literatur* (Heidelberg 1984) 112 f. (= Engl. ed. 122 f.), has noted that there is an Akkadian fable that is formally similar to the fable of the fox and the eagle. He thinks that one is directly dependent on the other, though he cannot explain how Archilochus knew the Akkadian fable ("Wie Kenntnis von einem mesopotamischen Text zu Archilochos kommen konnte, ist damit noch nicht erklärt").

[81] K. Latte, *Hermes* 92 (1964) 587 n. 6 = *Kl. Schr.* 459 f. n. 6: "Die Fabel wäre schlecht gewählt, da Lykambes dem Archilochos nicht geraubt, sondern nur

Latte's position has more to recommend it than commentators have allowed. If we cannot find a more specific relevance in the fable to Lycambes, it may indeed be prudent to conclude that the fable belongs to another epode with the same metrical shape as the one that began with fr. 172. Even if Archilochus were choosing a fable from a body of traditional material, one would think that he would have found one that suited his purposes closely; if the poet himself were the author of the fable, one would expect that he would have shaped it to fit the situation at hand.

Yet undue pessimism is uncalled for. We know from Philostratus (*Imag.* 1.3) that Archilochus used a fable of the Aesopic type against Lycambes. The remains of the account of the fable of the fox and the eagle match the metre of fr. 172, and, accordingly, it is reasonable to conclude that the fable formed part of the epode. Moreover, I suggest that the relevance of the fable is more specific than has hitherto been recognized. In the fable the eagle wrongs the fox with respect to progeny; the eagle, in turn, is punished by the destruction of its offspring. Lycambes has wronged Archilochus by breaking his oath and denying him a wife that had been promised. In antiquity the purpose of marriage was procreation.[82] To deny Archilochus a wife is to deny him issue.[83] Accordingly, Archilochus has adopted an attack that centres on Lycambes' offspring. In the fable, the fallen eaglets are devoured by the fox. According to tradition, Archilochus sang of the sexual incontinence of Lycambes' daughters. As we shall see, the revelation of promiscuity would be every bit as effective as the fate of the eaglets in the fable. We noted earlier that many of the fragments claimed by West to concern the Lycambids are descriptions of sexual activity (cf. also those fragments which seem to describe Neobule as a prostitute: frr. 206-209). Even if only a few of these passages concern Lycambes' daughters, they are sufficient to support the evidence of the epigram of Dioscorides (*A.P.* 7.351.9 = 1563 Gow-

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etwas nicht gegeben hatte."

[82] See (e.g.) *H.Aphr.* 104; Sol. fr. 23.9-10 Gentili-Prato = 27.9-10 West; Eur. *Ion* 472 ff., *Or.* 1080; Xen. *Mem.* 2.2.4; Dem. 59.122; Theoc. 18.50- 51; Men. Rhet. 404.24-28 Russell-Wilson; D.L. 6.11; Luc. *Tim.* 17; P.Ryl. 1.17 = Pack[2] 1829 (*Epith.* XXV Heitsch, *GDFRK*); Catull. 61.204-208 with Kroll's note; Stat. *Silu.* 1.2.266 ff.

[83] A realist might object (with Creon in Soph. *Ant.* 569) that Archilochus could always marry another; but what is important here is what we might term the rhetoric of the situation: through a broken oath Archilochus has been denied a wife and therefore children.

Page *HE*) that implies that Archilochus displayed the daughters in his poems as μάχλοι καὶ ἀτάσθαλοι.

Our knowledge of Archilochus' treatment of the Lycambids was immeasurably enriched by the publication in 1974 of the so-called Cologne epode (fr. 196a).[84] In the arrangement adopted by West the extant portion of the poem comprises 53 lines, and it is thus the most substantial fragment of Archilochus that we possess. The poem concerns an erotic encounter with a girl who seems to be the sister of Neobule,[85] whom the narrator addresses in what appears to be a speech of seduction (the surviving part of the poem seems to have been preceded by a speech by the girl). Enclosed by this speech is a striking attack on Neobule (24-41).[86] The fragment concludes with a description of a sex act between the girl and the narrator, although the precise implications of this passage remain obscure.[87] We cannot determine the identity of the speaker with any certainty. That the poem deals with Neobule suggests that it is the poet himself; but, on the present state of the evidence, a *persona* cannot be ruled out.

What are we to make of this poem? One of the first editors, R. Merkelbach, generated a considerable amount of discussion by pronouncing the poet "ein schwerer Psychopath" with regard to his treatment of the girl.[88] In sharp contrast, West, the other editor, developed the view that the poet is not "an uncaring seducer but ... an enthralled lover."[89] The poem thus becomes a tale of love and seduction.

The view that one adopts concerning the poem as a whole depends directly on how the treatment of the girl at the hands of the narrator is understood. Judging by certain modern standards of

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[84] First published by R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, ZPE 14 (1974) 97-113. For the very considerable literature on this poem, see Slings (above, note 12) 59-61 (Slings also provides a useful commentary); D. E. Gerber, *Lustrum* 33 (1991) 80-93.

[85] See Slings' commentary for the various possibilities.

[86] The technique of embedding an invective within a dramatic passage finds an interesting parallel in Canidia's attack on Varus in Hor. *Epod.* 5.55 ff.

[87] For a concise summary of the scholarly debate (views ranging from "vindictive rape" to "spontaneous combustion"), see J. Van Sickle, *CJ* 75 (1980) 225.

[88] *ZPE* 14 (1974) 113. Few have followed Merkelbach, perhaps because of the extreme terms adopted; but cf. Rankin (above, note 29) 71 ff.

[89] M. L. West, ZPE 16 (1975) 217.

behaviour, we might be tempted to side with West and see the poem as an erotic narrative, whatever we make of the sexual description in lines 42 ff. Yet by applying modern standards to the poem we may well be interpreting it anachronistically. If we look at the text in the light of ancient attitudes, it becomes clear that Merkelbach is closer to the truth.

It was generally believed that women were subject to strong sexual urges; once aroused, a woman's passion was thought to be insatiable and uncontrollable.[90] It was largely for this reason that girls were married young, so that prospective husbands could be guaranteed a virgin bride.[91] Women were thus seen as highly susceptible to corruption, and their disgrace affected the honour and public standing of their families. If a girl was dishonoured, the family was required to seek vengeance on the malefactor.[92] If, however, the girl was at fault, she could be killed or sold into slavery; moreover, a girl who compromised her virginity before marriage was consequently rendered unmarriageable.[93]

Consideration of these features of early Greek society sheds a harsher light on the situation of the girl in fr. 196a, for regardless of what sex-act is described there is little doubt that the poem depicts the girl submitting to some sort of sexual encounter with the narrator.[94] The public revelation of the details of this encounter would destroy the girl's honour, rendering her unmarriageable, and bring disgrace upon her family. It is only if we follow West and

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[90] Pl. Com. fr. 105 *PCG* remarks that a woman unrestrained becomes an ὕβριστον χρῆμα κἀκόλαστον. See the passages collected in *CQ* 34 (1984) 39 n. 18.

[91] See W. K. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece* (London 1968) 106-107; Pomeroy on Xen. *Oec.* 7.15.

[92] B. M. Lavelle, *AJP* 107 (1968) 318-331, argues in detail that, according to Thucydides (6.56), Harmodius and Aristogeiton were prompted to the act of tyrannicide by a slur on the virginity of Harmodius' sister.

[93] Slavery: Hdt. 4.145; Aesch. 1.182; Plut. *Sol.* 23.2; [Apolld.] 1.8.4. Girls who were seduced were unmarriageable: cf. Hyp. 1.12 (col. 10) Kenyon, Lycophron is charged with wronging women and thus making them ἄγαμοι. See in general S. B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves* (New York 1975) 86; H. F. North, *ICS* 2 (1977) 36-37.

[94] If, as many assume, the sex-act is not full intercourse in response to lines 13 ff., this may serve to exculpate the narrator from the charge of rape and to stress that the girl is a willing participant. In this way the opprobrium of the girl is all the greater. For a similar view (though overstated), see H. D. Rankin, *LF* 101 (1978) 208-212. Yet it is not unlikely that the poem describes full intercourse. λευκ]ὸν ἀφῆκα μένος may in fact refer to the sex-act; consequently, the blond hair of line 53 may not be pubic, as many believe, but cephalic.

view the girl as a stock-figure in a traditional entertainment, that the sinister implications of the sexual narrative can be overlooked. The reference to Neobule and the apparent relation of the girl to Neobule may support the contention that Archilochus was writing of a real person.

The erotic narrative, then, would disgrace the girl whom the narrator seduces. Archilochus accomplishes this by indirect means; the poet employs no verbal abuse against the girl. Neobule, on the other hand, is assailed directly in a passage of bitter invective (24-41). The invective serves an important rhetorical function within the speech of seduction; the narrator uses Neobule as a foil and thereby praises his interlocutor.[95] The abuse of Neobule centres on her promiscuity; she is described as πέπειρα ("ripe"), a term that implies sexual experience.[96] It is striking to note that the rejection of Neobule focuses on procreation. There is the strong implication that promiscuity has made Neobule unmarriageable in a biological sense: it has ruined her capacity to bear healthy children. The proverb of the hasty bitch that bears blind and untimely offspring follows hard upon the statement πολλοὺς δὲ ποιεῖτα[ι φίλους (38).[97]

The invective, however, does more in the poem than serve as a device of praise. It occupies slightly more than half the speech and is the note upon which the speech ends. As soon as the speech is finished, the narrator engages the girl sexually. The invective, then, dominates the poem with its vision of all that is repulsive in a woman. Moreover, it seems very likely that this picture of the degenerate Neobule reflects on the girl as well: what Neobule has become through sexual activity, the girl too will become. Neobule, then, shows us what is in store for the girl whom the narrator compromises. The suggestion of a link between the two girls would be strengthened if, as many commentators assume, they are sisters. Fr. 196a, then, is neither a love-story nor entertainment; rather, it is ψόγος, invective of a most insidious sort. The poem is remarkable

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95 See N. F. Rubin, *CJ* 74 (1978/79) 136-141, for discussion.

96 See Anacr. fr. 44 Gentili = 432 *PMG* with my interpretation in *CQ* 34 (1984) 37-42 (especially 40 f., on the Archilochus passage).

97 The supplement here is not certain; δόλους (Bonanno) has been preferred by many: see E. Degani and G. Burzacchini, *Lirici greci* (Florence 1977) 18, for arguments in support. Nonetheless, δόλους would similarly suggest guile in the erotic sphere, as in the case of δολόπλοκος at Sapph. fr. 1.2, Thgn. 1386.

for its control: the girls are assailed in very different ways, each effective in its context.

The attack on the two girls in this fragment gives us some idea of the campaign of invective directed against Lycambes and his daughters. The Cologne poem supports the suggestion that the epode containing the fable of the fox and the eagle presents a kind of programme of invective. Just as Lycambes has rendered Archilochus childless by denying him a wife, the poet seeks to destroy the integrity of Lycambes' family by rendering his daughters unmarriageable. That Archilochus' invective focussed on the daughters may explain the interest of Hellenistic poets in the plight of the Lycambids.[98]

Our discussion of the remains of Archilochus' poetry concerning Lycambes and his daughters has allowed us to form some impression of the methods of invective employed by Archilochus in his ἴαμβοι: paraenetic use of fables, graphic sexual narrative, direct verbal abuse. All these elements are used with great skill and subtlety; judging from the ancient *testimonia* their effect must have been devastating.

Consideration of the Lycambes poetry has also provided some support for our earlier contention that the function of ἴαμβος was similar to that of the religious occasion in which it developed. Lycambes is revealed as an oath-breaker and thus a menace to society; the daughters are exposed as sexually incontinent and so deserving of opprobrium. By subjecting his enemies to invective Archilochus seeks to protect the community. However personal the insult, Archilochus treats his feud with Lycambes as a matter of public concern, and this public aspect seems to lie very near the heart of ἴαμβος.

[98] The epigram by Dioscorides (*A.P.* 7.351 = 1555-1564 Gow-Page *HE*) may support the contention that children were an issue in the feud (9-10): εἰ δ' ἦμεν μάχλοι καὶ ἀτάσθαλοι οὐκ ἂν ἐκεῖνος / ἤθελεν ἐξ ἡμέων γνήσια τέκνα τεκεῖν. It is clear that Archilochus portrayed the girls as μάχλοι καὶ ἀτάσθαλοι; this is evident in fr. 196a. Dioscorides notes an apparent inconsistency in the tradition: Archilochus' interest in marriage and children stands at variance with the charge of sexual incontinence (ἐξ ἡμέων suggests that he wooed all the daughters, not just Neobule, but this may be a rhetorical stance or it may allude to the fact that he seduced both—or more?—daughters).

SEMONIDES

Semonides is a shadowy figure.[1] In sharp contrast to Archilochus, *testimonia* concerning his life are few; his date remains uncertain; even the form of his name is doubtful.[2] In fact, in the majority of our ancient sources Semonides is just a name to stand alongside Archilochus and Hipponax.

The only detailed evidence for Semonides' life is the entry in the *Suda* (σ 466 and σ 431 = *test.* 7a Pellizer-Tedeschi), but unfortunately this section seems to be compromised by an accident of transmission: a portion of the entry on Semonides seems to have been dislocated and attached to the material on Sim(m)ias of Rhodes. If the entry has been correctly reconstituted and the particulars have not been corrupted further, certain details emerge.[3] He was born or flourished (the precise implications of γέγονε are uncertain) 490 years after the Trojan War, and so early in the seventh century.[4] Semonides wrote an elegy (ἐλεγεία) in two books and ἴαμβοι.[5] According to some, we are told, Semonides was the

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[1] In addition to the standard collections, there is a recent edition with *testimonia*, translation, commentary and full bibliography: E. Pellizer and G. Tedeschi, *Semonides: Testimonia et Fragmenta* (Rome 1990). For fr. 7, there is an excellent commentary by H. Lloyd-Jones, *Females of the Species* (London 1974); for fr. 1, see D. E. Gerber in *Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honour of L. Woodbury* (Chico 1984) 125-135. For further bibliography, see D. E. Gerber, *Lustrum* 33 (1991) 98-108.

[2] Almost all ancient sources spell the name Σιμωνίδης, but the grammarian Choeroboscus records that the name is in reality Σημωνίδης. The usual spelling inevitably occasions considerable confusion with the better-known Cean lyric poet of the fifth century.

[3] For discussion of Semonides' date and life, see E. Pellizer, *QUCC* 14 (1983) 17-28.

[4] This date is either 693 or 680. A date closer to the middle of the century is suggested by Cyril of Alexandria (*Contr. Iul.* 1.12 [*PG* 9.520d Migne] = *test.* 3 Pellizer-Tedeschi). Clement of Alexandria synchronizes Semonides with Archilochus (*Strom.* 1.21.131.7-8 = *test.* 1 Pellizer-Tedeschi), a common chronological detail (cf. *testt.* 4-6 Pellizer-Tedeschi); Proclus (*Chrest.* 7 *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 239 [2.40 Severyns] = *test.* 2 Pellizer-Tedeschi) claims that he was a contemporary of Ananius of Macedonia, but the name is almost certainly corrupt.

[5] ἔγραψεν ἐλεγείαν ἐν βιβλίοις β΄, ἰάμβους. This statement is somewhat unclear. Does ἐλεγεία refer to a single poem or is it a general term for elegiac poetry, possibly referring to a collection of elegiac poems? Bergk suggested emending to ἐλεγεῖα, ἰάμβους ἐν βιβλίοις β΄, a text which has its attractions. In the entry for Sappho (4.323.9 Adler) the MSS of the *Suda* offer both ἐλεγεῖα and ἐλεγείαν as variants.

first poet to write ἴαμβοι. He was originally a Samian, but was sent to Amorgos as a leader of the colonists, and he founded Amorgos in three cities, Minoa, Aegialus, and Arcesine. In addition to ἴαμβοι, Semonides wrote various other works, including an *Archaeology of the Samians* (Ἀρχαιολογία τῶν Σαμίων). In his *Pseudologistes* (2 = *test.* 12 Pellizer-Tedeschi) Lucian adds that Semonides wrote ἴαμβοι against a certain Orodoecides, just as Archilochus attacked Lycambes and Hipponax assailed Boupalus and Athenis.[6]

The evidence here does not inspire confidence; it depends almost entirely on a single source that is manifestly corrupt. The extant fragments—relatively few in number—are all iambic. The *Suda* suggests that there was a substantial amount of elegiac poetry, but no trace exists among the *extantia*.[7] On the analogy particularly with the *Smyrneis* of Mimnermus, it has been suggested that the ἐλεγεία in two books was in fact the *Archaeology of the Samians*,[8] but we have no positive support for this suggestion, and, in any case, that work seems suspect itself.[9] So far as it emerges from the

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6 The name seems to be corrupt: see the various emendations recorded by Pellizer-Tedeschi *ad loc.*

7 In view of the frequent confusion with Simonides of Ceos, it is possible that some Semonidean pieces lurk amid the mass of elegiac poetry attributed to the Cean poet. It is, of course, a pointed irony that the one elegiac passage regularly ascribed to Semonides has now been vindicated for the Cean by the new Simonides papyrus (frr. eleg. 19-20 West^2). T. K. Hubbard, *Arethusa* 29 (1996) 255-262, believes that a case can still be made for Semonidean authorship.

8 See Pellizer-Tedeschi XXV f., who note other possible parallels.

9 A title like ἀρχαιολογία is clearly not early, but one might argue that it is a designation applied to the work in later antiquity. Nonetheless, it is surprising that a work apparently by such an early figure has left no trace in the historical record; in this regard the Semonidean work perhaps shared the fate of Xenophanes' *Foundation of Colophon and the Settlement of Elea*, which is mentioned once (D.L. 9.20) but nowhere explicitly cited: see Jacoby, *FGrHist* IIIb (*Komm.*) 1.296, who rejects the ascription of fr. 3 Gentili-Prato to this work. It is hard, however, not to contrast the silence of our sources with the clear influence exerted by Eumelus' *Corinthiaca* on the historiography of Corinth (see the texts collected as *FGrHist* 451 F 1-9). Beginning at least with Rhianus, poems on historical subjects were common in the Hellenistic period, and so it is not impossible that the *Archaeology* in fact belongs to Simias, although there is no suggestion in the fragments of an interest in historical subjects; the texts printed in Powell, *CA* 109-120 seem to indicate a strong interest in mythic narrative. Moreover, it may be objected that it is unlikely that a Rhodian poet like Simias would take an interest in the history of Samos, but it is noteworthy in this regard that Apollonius of Rhodes wrote a series of Κτίσεις of various cities (frr. 4-12 Powell, *CA* pp. 5-8). If this suggestion is correct, the material in the *Suda* may be more problematic than has hitherto been suspected.

testimonia, the poet's life with its conspicuous involvement in the colonization of Amorgos seems to have been closely similar to that of Archilochus, and this may also constitute grounds for suspicion: it is not impossible that the tradition reflects the assimilation of Semonides to the better-known Parian iambist.

The extant fragments are noteworthy for two substantial passages. Fr. 1 is a meditation on the human condition, how mortals are subject to the will of Zeus and face the vicissitudes—disease, toil, hardship, misadventure, etc.—that constitute their lot. Although composed in iambic trimeters, this passage has strong affinities with both Hesiod and early elegy.[10] In fact, it is these similarities that led to the attempts to ascribe Simonides, frr. eleg. 19-20 West[2] to the Amorgine poet. The passage stands as an important indication that the iambic form was as flexible as the elegiac couplet; iambic trimeters could be the vehicle not only of the scurrilous narratives and fierce invectives characteristic of Archilochian ἴαμβος, but could be used for a wide variety of purposes.[11] In this regard, Semonides fr. 1 anticipates the political trimeters of Solon (frr. 36-37). There is no certain evidence that Archilochus used trimeters in this way,[12] but the tetrametric fragments may provide some parallels (see especially frr. 128, 130, 131 and 133).

Affinities with Hesiodic poetry also distinguish the other substantial passage, the celebrated poem on women (fr. 7), which is the most substantial specimen of archaic Greek iambic poetry that we possess. In an interesting way this poem seems to be a continuation of fr. 1: in that passage the poet offered a reflection on Zeus' dispensation to mortals in the largest sense; in fr. 7 the focus is on just one of the κακά that Zeus confers, the race of women (96 f.):[13]

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[10] Parallels with Hesiod are collected by Fränkel, *EGPP* 202 n. 2; see also the parallel *apparatus* in Pellizer-Tedeschi (fr. 8).

[11] Frr. 2, 3, 4, and possibly 6 may derive from poems of a similar sort.

[12] Gnomic elements in the trimeters seem to have been part of some larger design, and, owing to the fragmentary nature of the texts, it is often difficult to determine the import of passages such as fr. 19, which offers a humble man's reflections on wealth and power, but is put in the mouth of Charon the carpenter. Similarly, fr. 25.2 is quoted out of context to illustrate *Od.* 14.228, but its gnomic character is somewhat undercut by the obscenity of the priamel to which it belongs. That Sem. fr. 1, like so many pieces in the Theognidean collection, begins with ὦ παῖ suggests that the reflection on human life was not contained within any dramatic setting or narrative, but, at least as transmitted, constituted a self-contained poem, perhaps intended for performance at a symposium.

[13] That women are part of the dispensation of Zeus is stressed throughout

Ζεὺς γὰρ μέγιστον τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν κακόν,
γυναῖκας.

Semonides begins from the proposition that the god (presumably Zeus) made the mind of women in different ways. He then proceeds to describe how women were fashioned from a series of eight animals (sow, vixen, bitch, ass, ferret or weasel, mare, monkey, and bee), which is interrupted by two other types, shaped from earth and sea respectively. The extant portion of the poem concludes with a general reflection on womankind that may have effected a transition to an account of the deleterious rôle played by women in myth.[14] With one important exception, the women are all negative, consituting a rogues' gallery of female types. In this respect the kinship with Hesiod is particularly evident.[15]

The derivation of various female types from animals suggests the world of the Aesopic beast fable. The passage that is most frequently adduced is Aes. *fab.* 240 Perry, in which Prometheus changes some animals into men after he has created too many animals and has insufficient material left over for men.[16] This fable explains why some people have the form of men, but bestial souls (ψυχαὶ θηριώδεις). Another Aesopic fable that is relevant to the poem on women concerns Aphrodite and a γαλῆ (a weasel or ferret), one of the animals in Semonides' poem (50-56):[17] a γαλῆ falls in love with a handsome young man; the goddess changes the γαλῆ into an attractive woman, and the pair are married. Aphrodite, however, wishes to find out whether the γαλῆ has changed not only her body but also her character (γνῶναι βουλομένη εἰ μεταβαλοῦσα τὸ σῶμα ἡ γαλῆ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἤλλαξε), and so she sets a mouse before the couple in their bed-chamber, and the

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the poem (cf. esp. 72, 94, 115), and this is a point of contact with Hesiod's accounts of the creation of the first woman (*Th.* 570 ff. and *Erga* 54 ff.)

14 The fragment ends with an unanswered τοὺς μέν (117), and this suggests a following τοὺς δέ. R. Renehan, *HSCP* 87 (1983) 13 ff., has argued for μέν *solitarium* here, and so a complete poem, but the argument is not persuasive: see Pellizer-Tedeschi *ad loc.*

15 For an exploration of this, see N. Loraux, *Arethusa* 11 (1978) 43-87 = *Les enfants d'Athéna* (Paris 1981) 75-117 (= Engl. ed., 72-110).

16 See Lloyd-Jones 21, who suggests that this fable could have been known to Semonides. The Aesopic fable has obvious affinities with the myth at Pl. *Prot.* 320d-321, and that may suggest that the story was in circulation at least as early as the fifth century. See also Hor. *Carm.* 1.16.13 with Nisbet-Hubbard *ad loc.*

17 Aes. *Fab.* 50 Perry = Babr. 32 Luzzato-La Penna.

γαλῆ-woman forgets her present circumstances and chases after the mouse, thus showing that she still possesses her bestial τρόπος. Aphrodite then punishes the woman by returning her to her ἀρχαία φύσις. In addition to suggesting the sexual proclivities of Semonides' γαλῆ-woman, this fable seems also to share the basic idea that the bestial nature cannot be concealed by human form, just as in the *Odyssey* we find the view that a bestial form does not alter human sensibilities (10.240).[18]

The poetic use of actual fables as narrative elements in ἴαμβοι may have been peculiar to Archilochus, but there is some evidence at least to suggest this practice for Semonides as well. In addition to the superficial similarities already noted, fr. 9 seems to be a reference to a story of how a heron robbed a vulture of an eel. Although no such fable is transmitted in any of the ancient collections of fables, these lines suggest a beast-fable, and Perry was right to treat the passage as an allusion to an otherwise unattested Aesopic fable (443 Perry). Fr. 13 has been ascribed (e.g., by Diehl on his fr. 11) to the fable of the eagle and the dung-beetle (Aes. *fab.* 3 Perry). This ascription has often been asserted with great confidence, but West has called this view into question.[19] He argues that the lines are more probably from "a scatological first-person narrative of a type characteristic of iambos." He compares Hippon. fr. 95.10-11 Degani = 92.10-11 West, suggesting that Sem. frr. 8 and 17 may derive from a similar context.

The purpose of Semonides' poem on women is considerably less clear than its formal elements. Wilamowitz saw it as a specimen of αἰσχρολογία, the male response to the ritual abuse uttered by women in various festivals of Demeter.[20] In light of the ritual origins of ἴαμβος, this proposal is not without its attractions, but there is no compelling evidence to suggest the existence of αἰσχρολογία in this

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18 In Philemon fr. 93 *PCG* we find the related idea that each species of animal possesses a single defining nature (φύσις here), whereas human beings differ from person to person (the language here has strong affinities with Terence's famous *quot homines tot sententiae; suus quoique mos, Phorm.* 454).

19 M. L. West in *La Fable* (*Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 30: Vandœuvres-Geneva 1984) 112. That this passage belongs to an Aesopic narrative has been asserted most recently by Lasserre, *La Fable* 64, and by a more rigorous scholar, W. Burkert, *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literatur* [Heidelberg 1984] 112 n. 8 (= Engl. ed., 214 n. 8).

20 U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Einleitung in die attische Tragödie* (Berlin 1889) 57 n. 17, and *Der Glaube der Hellenen*² (Basel 1956) 1.293 n. 1. For criticism of this view and further bibliography, see Lloyd-Jones 23.

form. Moreover, the strong affinities with Hesiod suggest that we are dealing with a literary theme that has no necessary connection with ἴαμβος itself or any specific cultic moment. It has often been asserted that Semonides' poem presents a serious meditation on the nature of women,[21] but Lloyd-Jones has rightly stressed the strong element of entertainment and the way in which the account of women is appropriate to the genre, and this should remind us of the important affinities of ἴαμβος with comedy.

That the poem is entertaining, however, does not mean that it cannot offer serious reflection; implicit in Semonides' poem are important ideas about a woman's rôle in society. All of the female types are described as wives, that is to say, as women in relation to men and their οἶκοι. This insight has been used in an attempt to establish the occasion of the poem. Schear has argued that the emphasis on wives indicates that the poem was composed for a symposium held in conjunction with a wedding, an occasion mentioned in the Homeric poems (*Il.* 18.491 ff.; *Od.* 1.225 ff.),[22] but this is most uncertain, for the same emphasis can be found in the Hesiodic passages on women. We seem to be faced with a conventional male perspective from which women were assessed, *viz.* the way in which they discharged a wife's duty within the household.

The poem's serious concerns are most readily apparent in the account of the bee-women, the ideal wife, who stands as a foil to all the preceding female types (83-93):

> τὴν δ' ἐκ μελίσσης· τήν τις εὐτυχεῖ λαβών·
> κείνῃ γὰρ οἴῃ μῶμος οὐ προσιζάνει.
> θάλλει δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς κἀπαέξεται βίος,
> φίλη δὲ σὺν φιλέοντι γηράσκει πόσει
> τεκοῦσα καλὸν κὠνομάκλυτον γένος.
> κἀριπρεπὴς μὲν ἐν γυναιξὶ γίνεται
> πάσῃσι, θείη δ' ἀμφιδέδρομεν χάρις.
> οὐδ' ἐν γυναιξὶν ἥδεται καθημένη
> ὅκου λέγουσιν ἀφροδισίους λόγους.
> τοίας γυναῖκας ἀνδράσιν χαρίζεται
> Ζεὺς τὰς ἀρίστας καὶ πολυφραδεστάτας.

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21 S. B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Wives, Whores, and Slaves* (New York 1975) 49, surprisingly describes Semonides as a "poet-philosopher."

22 L. Schear, *EMC* 28 (1984) 39-49.

As in the other cases, the animal from which this woman was created is appropriate to her character. In antiquity, as in contemporary usage, the bee was noted for its industry; the bee-woman performs her duties within the house with the same energy and diligence.[23] As is often remarked, it is this feature of the bee that is most relevant to Semonides' poem.[24] Commentators also point to the bee's reputation for purity, and this is indicative of the bee-woman's fidelity and σωφροσύνη.[25] The bee's reputation in this regard is well attested and, it seems, rooted in religious usage.[26]

The bee-woman is an ideal wife. Owing to her efforts, the substance of the οἶκος flourishes and is increased (85), and she produces fine children (87). To these familiar feminine responsibilities is added a strong bond of affection with her husband; the phrase φίλη σὺν φιλέοντι suggests a unanimity of purpose that recalls Odysseus' wish to Nausicaa (*Od.* 6.180-185):

> σοὶ δὲ θεοὶ τόσα δοῖεν, ὅσα φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοινᾷς,
> ἄνδρα τε καὶ οἶκον, καὶ ὁμοφροσύνην ὀπάσειαν
> ἐσθλήν· οὐ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ γε κρεῖσσον καὶ ἄρειον,
> ἢ ὅθ' ὁμοφρονέοντε νοήμασιν οἶκον ἔχητον
> ἀνὴρ ἠδὲ γυνή· πόλλ' ἄλγεα δυσμενέεσσι,
> χάρματα δ' εὐμενέτῃσι· μάλιστα δέ τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοί.

As Garvie remarks (*ad loc.*), Odysseus delicately omits mention of children, an essential feature of a successful marriage in antiquity, but the emphasis on the ὁμοφροσύνη of husband and wife in relation to their οἶκος draws attention to the importance of household management.[27]

If the bee-woman is conspicuously successful as a wife, it is in this regard that the other women in Semonides' poem fail. The pig-woman is lazy, and her household is in disorder. The woman

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[23] For the industry of the bee, see O. Keller, *Antike Tierwelt* (Leipzig 1909/1913) 2.421 f., and M. Davies and J. Kathirithamby, *Greek Insects* (New York 1986) 59.

[24] See W. Marg, *Die Charakter in der Sprache der frühgriechischen Dichtung*[2] (Darmstadt 1967) 27 f.; D. E. Gerber, *Euterpe* (Amsterdam 1970) 63; Lloyd-Jones 84.

[25] Cf. Pomeroy (above, note 21) 49.

[26] See Davies and Kathirithamby 69 f., and Williams on Call. *Ap.* 110.

[27] We might compare the definition of the wife's rôle in [Dem.] 59.122, ... τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τοῦ παιδοποιεῖσθαι γνησίως [sc. ἕνεκ' ἔχομεν] καὶ τῶν ἔνδον φύλακα πιστὴν ἔχειν. See in general S. B. Pomeroy's edition of Xen. *Oec.* (Oxford 1994) 58 ff.

made from a vixen is inconstant, and so cannot be trusted. The dog-woman cannot be controlled by her husband, even if he resorts to violence; she also makes relations with ξένοι difficult. The earth-woman is both stupid and lazy. The woman created from the sea is inconsistent, and at her worst is difficult to friend and foe alike; in this respect she falls short of the Homeric ideal, which sees the harmonious couple as unanimous in their treatment of friend and foe. The ass-woman does not work on her own initiative, but must be forced; moreover, she seems to be promiscuous as well.[28] The woman shaped from a weasel or ferret is also sexually incontinent.[29] The mare-woman refuses to perform necessary tasks in the house, as well as being a drain on the husband's resources. The monkey-woman devotes herself to doing harm, and is indifferent to shame. All of these women threaten the well-being of the οἶκος. Certain themes recur: the women made from pig, earth, ass, and mare all contribute nothing but consume the substance of the household, and in this regard they are reminiscent of the suitors in the *Odyssey*, who waste the material wealth of Odysseus' οἶκος. Promiscuity is a problem with the ass- and ferret-women, and this would make the legitimacy of any children suspect. Children, however, are mentioned only in the case of the ideal bee-woman; none of these other wives appears to be a mother, and so this is yet another way in which they fail to serve their husbands' οἶκοι.

Semonides' treatment of women is reminiscent of Archilochus' attack on Lycambes as an oath-breaker, a malefactor who is a threat to the community; the bad women all undermine the stability of the οἶκος, which is itself the cornerstone of society. That Semonidean ἴαμβος represents the same kind of poetry as that of Archilochus or Hipponax, however, is less certain. Fr. 7 is like nothing else in the remains of the other iambographers. Moreover, there is no evidence to suggest that Semonides used the epodic form, which is attested for both Archilochus and Hipponax. Part of the difficulty of assessing the character of Semonides' work may lie in the relatively small sample; a papyrus find could alter the picture dramatically. Frr. 8 and 17, for example, may belong to first-person

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28 This may be the implication of line 49: see the discussion by Lloyd-Jones *ad loc.*

29 For the reading ἀληνής in line 53, see D. E. Gerber, *Phoenix* 33 (1979) 19.

sexual narratives of a sort familar from the other iambic poets; fr. 24 seems to be spoken by a cook, the sort of figure from the lower level of society that seems to be common in the poetry of Hipponax. Some idea of how Semonides' enemy Orodoecides was treated might provide a sense of how Semonides handled personal invective, the hallmark of early ἴαμβος, but without new evidence his precise relation to the tradition of ἴαμβος must remain uncertain.

HIPPONAX

In sharp contrast with Semonides, there is a strong historical tradition placing Hipponax' *floruit* in the middle of the sixth century.[1] The *Marmor Parium* (*ep.* 42 = *test.* 1 Degani) synchronizes the poet with the fall of Sardis (546/5), and that date is supported by the Elder Pliny (*HN* 36.5 = *test.* 2 Degani);[2] a somewhat later date κατὰ Δαρεῖον is maintained by Proclus (*Chrest.* 7 *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 239 = *test.* 3 Degani), a view which has found favour with some recent scholars.[3] The biographical tradition records few details of the poet's life. According to the *Suda* (ι 588 Adler = *test.* 7 Degani), he was an Ephesian, the son of Pythes and Protis, who was driven to Clazomenae by the tyrants Athenagoras and Comas. He wrote poems against the sculptors, Bupalus and Athenis, because they made statues of him πρὸς ὕβριν. Pliny mentions that the sculptors' father was Archermus, a name which has turned up on a base dated to ca 550. As is the case in the traditions concerning other poets, not all of these details are entirely reliable, but they do suggest that the poet was active in the sixth century.

Hipponax is also distinguished from Semonides by the impressive body of extant material in the standard editions (186 fragments accepted as genuine in Degani's Teubner), but nonetheless the character of Hipponax' work remains obscure. A very large number of fragments are derived from grammarians and lexicographers, who are interested in explaining rare words. Papyrus fragments tease rather than illuminate. On this basis we can form

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[1] In addition to West, *IEG*², there is a superb Teubner edition of the poet with detailed *apparatus* and full *testimonia* by E. Degani (Leipzig 1983; rev. 1991). Also important is the same scholar's *Studi su Ipponatte* (Bari 1984). There are also useful editions with commentary by W. de Sousa Medeiros, *Hipónax de Éfeso, I: Fragmentos dos Iambos* (Coimbra 1961); O. Masson, *Les fragments du poète Hipponax* (Paris 1962); less helpful is A. Farina, *Ipponatte* (Naples 1963). Full bibliography can be found in Degani's edition and in D. E. Gerber, *Lustrum* 33 (1991) 108-128.

[2] See the concise discussion of the date by F. Jacoby, *Das Marmor Parium* (Berlin 1904) 171; Degani, *Studi* 19-20.

[3] See Degani, *Studi* 19 with 85 n. 5. A date early in the seventh century (688/7) recorded by Eusebius (*Chron. ap.* Hieron. *de ann. MCCCXXIX Ol. XXIII* 1 = *test.* 6 Degani) can be rejected, either as the result of a confusion with Archilochus (so Degani *ad loc.*), or as the product of synchronization with the earlier iambist (so Jacoby, *op. cit.*).

some impression of Hipponax' poetry, but few of these texts can be interpreted with any confidence, owing both to their lacunose state and to the native difficulty of the iambist's manner. In general, we seem to be dealing with a poet who portrayed the lower levels of society in a way that is both graphic and comic; for example, there are likely allusions to thieves (fr. 2 Degani = 3a West), poverty (frr. 36 and 47 Degani = 26 and 38 West), people drinking from a pail for lack of a proper vessel (frr. 21-22 Degani = 13-14 West), graphic accounts of sexual intercourse (fr. 86 Degani = 84 West). Judging from the frequent occurrences of the poet's name, Hipponax emerges as a self-consciously presented 'character' in a way that is strikingly different from anything in Archilochus.[4] In fr. 42b Degani = 34.4 ff. West the poet may be representing himself as a burglar.[5] In frr. 121-122 Degani = 120-121 West (lines which are frequently combined) the speaker—not necessarily the poet—strikes a pugnacious pose that has the immediacy of a theatrical performance.[6] For the general picture of Hipponax' society we might compare the μιμίαμβοι of Herodas with their striking vignettes of the lower classes of Alexandrian society.[7] In neither case is it likely that the poet belongs to that world; in both cases the level of artistic accomplishment suggests a higher social register, and we may remind ourselves of Petronius, who detailed a world of low-life characters with great energy and acuity, but moved in the very highest circles of Roman society.[8] We are

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4 Cf. frr. 42b.1, 44.2, 46, 79.9, 79.12 (?), °196.4 Degani.

5 This is the most persuasive understanding of τοὐτέρου τοίχου (fr. 42b.3 Degani), for that passage seems to be an address to Hermes, god of thieves, and a burglar in Greek is regularly called a τοιχωρύχος. See West, *Studies* 29.

6 One might compare the manner of Catullus' poem beginning *pedicabo ego uos et irrumabo* (16). I have long suspected that a larger sample of Hipponax' poetry would allow us to see that Catullus owed a considerable debt to the early iambist. This suggestion should come as no surprise: Catullus was an ardent admirer of Callimachus, who, in turn, used Hipponax as a model for his own ἴαμβοι. Another poet of Catullus' generation who seems to have been influenced by Hipponax was Calvus: cf. fr. 3 Courtney = 3 Blänsdorf, a choliambic line that appears to be abusive in nature (*Sardi Tigelli putidum caput uenit*); for the connection with Hipponax, cf. Cic. *ad Fam.* 7.24.1 = *test.* 60 Degani.

7 See I. C. Cunningham, *Herodas: Mimiambi* (Oxford 1971) 12; Degani, *Studi* 50-56.

8 H. Lloyd-Jones, *Females of the Species* (London 1974) 25, adduces Petronius in making a similar point about Semonides. The comparison between Hipponax and Petronius is not fortuitous, for the iambist seems to have exerted an important influence on the *Satyricon*: see C. Miralles and J. Pòrtulas, *The Poetry of Hipponax* (Rome 1988) 71-119 (a revision of Miralles, *QUCC* 21 [1985)] 89-103).

now well aware of the danger in inferring a poet's life from his poetry.

The bold use of language that attracted the attention of ancient scholars was deployed by Hipponax to considerable effect. An illustrative example is fr. 2 Degani = 3a West:

> Ἑρμῆ κυνάγχα, Μῃονιστὶ Κανδαῦλα,
> φωρῶν ἑταῖρε, δεῦρό μοι σκαπερδεῦσαι

This invocation of Hermes may have belonged to a reported speech, and it has often been combined with fr. 1 Degani = 3 West, although there is nothing to guarantee the connection:

> ἔβωσε Μαίης παῖδα, Κυλλήνης πάλμυν

By joining these two fragments we gain an effective sequence, but Hermes figures in other passages, and so the caution of recent editors is justified. In form fr. 2 suggests the ὕμνος κλητικός, a familiar mode of Greek prayer, with the collocation δεῦρό μοι focusing the god's attention on the situation of the petitioner. The god is named at the beginning of the first line and modified by a series of three epithets that circumscribe the relevant sphere of influence of the deity. κυνάγχης occurs nowhere else. Its meaning seems reasonably certain—'dog-choker'—but the reference of the word has been much disputed. Although certainty may be impossible, the epithet likely refers to Hermes as aiding burglars against guard dogs. Κανδαύλας is avowedly a Maeonian term, which seems to suggest the assimilation of Hermes to some Asian divinity, and, consequently, this passage affords a glimpse of an aspect of Ionian culture that is not otherwise well attested in literature.[9] Hipponax' readiness to use non-Greek vocabulary is also evident in fr. 1, in which Hermes is called πάλμυς, a Lydian word meaning 'lord.'[10] If the first two epithets of Hermes are obscure, the description of the god as φωρῶν ἑταῖρος is unproblematic, and this may reflect a conscious strategy by which the poet deliberately makes his own meaning clear. The final word is also difficult: the ancient lexicographical evidence collected by Degani is so divergent that one

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[9] See the careful discussion of Κανδαύλας by Masson (above, note 1) 105. Cf. also N. Robertson, *ClAnt* 1 (1982) 122-140 (at 132 ff.).

[10] For πάλμυς see the bibliography collected by Degani *ad loc.* The word recurs elsewhere among the extant fragments (cf. frr. 7.4, 47.1 and 2, 72.7 Degani = 42.4, 38.1 and 2, 72.7 West).

suspects desperate *ad hoc* invention, and it is therefore of little value. Whatever its precise meaning, σκαπερδεῦσαι seems to refer to some aspect of the burglar's occupation.[11]

These two fragments are typical of the surviving remains of Hipponax' work; language that is both colourful and, so it seems, recherché evokes a world that seems refreshingly far removed from the familiar social level of sixth- and fifth-century poetry. It is not hard to see why Hipponax was an object of such fascination to Hellenistic poets such as Herodas and Callimachus, who were interested in developing unfamiliar themes and modes of poetry.

What is more difficult to discern, however, is the way in which Hipponax stands in relation to Archilochus and ἴαμβος, the genre with which he was associated. The ancient tradition is consistent in linking Archilochus and Hipponax, beginning with fourth-century comedy. It is a source of profound regret that we know so little about Diphilus' *Sappho*, in which the two iambists were portrayed as unlikely (rival?) lovers of Sappho (fr. 71 *PCG*). Like the *Archilochoi* of Cratinus, this seems to have been a play aware of the debt owed by Attic comedy to Ionian ἴαμβος. That the two poets were linked in this fashion need not imply that they were poets of the same kind, but rather it seems more likely that they were judged to be contrasted practitioners of ἴαμβος, just as Aristophanes used Aeschylus and Euripides as antithetical models of the tragic poet.[12] If we accept that the Parian poet was representative of early Ionian ἴαμβος—at least as practised in the seventh century—then it is clear that the differences between the two poets were considerable. This is not to say that there was not common ground too: both poets used the epodic form for ψόγος;[13] both iambists also wrote graphic sexual narratives.[14] They appear to differ, however, with

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[11] West, *Studies* 29, points to σκαπέδρα, translating "help me pull this rope." Believing the term cognate with σκάπτειν, Robertson (above, note 9) 133 with n. 35, offers "'... come here and chop for me,' i.e., effect an entry through a house-wall(?)."

[12] See Degani, *Studi* 33 f.

[13] Only one epode is securely ascribed to Hipponax (fr. 129 Degani = 118 West). The authorship of the Strasbourg epodes is still disputed; recent editors have assigned them to Hipponax, and the first (fr. °194 Degani = 115 West) is perhaps the most impressive piece of early ψόγος to survive. I am inclined, however, to give the first to Archilochus and the second to Hipponax (see above, p. 49, n. 27).

[14] For Hipponax, see frr. 23, 24, 40, 78 (?), 86, 95, 107 Degani = 16, 17, 155, 78, 84, 92, 104 West.

respect to the manner in which these themes were treated. While Archilochus could employ obscenity to striking effect, his work seems to have encompassed a much wider range, and there is little evidence for the vulgar society in which Hipponax situated his narratives.

Differences from Archilochus notwithstanding, it is clear that the tradition regarded Hipponax as an exponent of the same genre, and, furthermore, it seems very likely that the Ephesian poet self-consciously presented himself as a poet of ἴαμβος. There was a story current among ancient grammarians that Hipponax encountered Iambe, the eponym of the genre itself, while she was doing the wash by the sea; Iambe rebukes the poet with a trimeter, which can easily be changed into a choliamb, as our source notes.[15] Developing a suggestion of Koster, R. M. Rosen and I have independently argued that the line goes back to Hipponax and that the story is itself a reminiscence of a scene of poetic initiation narrated by the poet; R. L. Fowler has found two more lines in a fourteenth-century manuscript that form the sequel to the trimeter quoted by Choeroboscus.[16] Although it remains possible that the grammarians' story was derived from a lost comedy or Hellenistic poem (that both verses and story are fictions constructed by some grammarian seems very unlikely), we seem to have a strong indication that Hipponax consciously evoked the figure of Iambe. Beginning with Hesiod, scenes of poetic initiation, in which the poet encountered a Muse or some other personification of poetic inspiration, allowed poets to claim authority for their songs and to declare their affiliations with their respective genres.[17] In the case of Hipponax, a meeting with a waspish old woman by the sea is the sort of scene drawn from the lower level of society that is characteristic of the poet's art, and so we have an appropriate setting for Hipponax' encounter with the personification of ἴαμβος as he conceived the genre. There may also be a deliberate contrast with Archilochus.

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[15] The fullest account is Choerob. ad Hephaest. 3.1 (p. 214.8-20 Consbruch) = Hippon. *test.* 21 Degani; other versions that mention the poet's name are printed by Degani as *testt.* 21a-21d; see also the late sources collected by W. J. W. Koster, *Tractatus graeci de re metrica inediti* (Paris 1922) 60.

[16] R. M. Rosen, *AJP* 109 (1988) 174-179; C. G. Brown, *Hermes* 116 (1988) 478-481; R. L. Fowler, *ICS* 15 (1990) 1-22

[17] For the ancient tradition of *Dichterweihe*, see A. Kambylis, *Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolik* (Heidelberg 1965); cf. also M. L. West's edition of Hesiod's *Theogony* (Oxford 1966) 158-161.

The earlier poet seems to have presented a *Dichterweihe* in a poem that has also been lost: according to the Mnesiepes inscription, Archilochus encountered the Muses, and received a lyre in exchange for a cow.[18] By describing a meeting with the Muses Archilochus situates his own manner of ἴαμβος on a high stylistic level, and this accords well with a tradition that saw the Parian iambist as a 'Homeric' poet.[19] Hipponax seems to have rejected such lofty associations, and produced an ἴαμβος of the disreputable and the demi-monde.

Like Archilochus and Semonides, tradition records that Hipponax wrote poems of invective against a special enemy (or, in this case, a pair of enemies). Pliny offers an account of the feud (*NH* 36.12 = *test.* 8 Degani):

> Hipponacti notabilis foeditas uultus erat; quamobrem imaginem eius lasciuia iocosam hi proposuere ridentium circulis, quod Hipponax indignatus destrinxit amaritudinem carminum in tantum ut credatur aliquis ad laqueum eos compulisse: quod falsum est, complura enim in finitimis insulis simulacra postea fecere, sicut in Delo, quibus subiecerunt carmen, non uitibus tantum censeri Chion sed et operibus Archermi filiorum.

It is generally assumed that we are dealing with historical personages, however much the similarity to the tradition concerning Archilochus and Lycambes may arouse suspicion.[20] Other sources allude to Hipponax' unfortunate physical appearance,[21] and it is likely that such details have their source in his poems themselves. There are numerous references to Bupalus among the extant fragments (Athenis is mentioned only once),[22] but in spite of the fame

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[18] Mnes. inscr. E_1 col. II 23 ff. = Arch. *test.* 4 Tarditi. For discussion, see C. W. Müller, *RhM* 128 (1985) 99-151 (especially 101 ff.).

[19] See [Long.] *de Subl.* 13.3 with Russell's note; cf. M. Cannatà Fera in *Poesia epica greca e latina* (Soveria Mannelli 1988) 55-75.

[20] See Masson 14-15; Degani, *Studi* 20-24; R. M. Rosen, *TAPA* 118 (1988) 31 n. 10.

[21] In the greatest detail by Metr. Scep. *FGrHist* 184 F 6 = *test.* 19 Degani, a passage that seems to stand behind Ael. *VH* 10.6 and Eust. on *Il.* 23.844 = *testt.* 19a and 19b Degani.

[22] Bupalus is mentioned at frr. 17, 18, 19, 20.2, 77.4, 86.18, 98.3-4, 15, 121, (?) 144 Degani = 1, 15, 95.3-4, 15, 120, (?) 136 West. Athenis is addressed at the beginning of fr. 70 Degani = 70.11 West (the name was introduced by

of the feud we have no means of determining the substance of the poetic attack.[23] This is a situation very different from that concerning Archilochus' feud with Lycambes, for which we have a clear idea of the substance of the famous epode with its Aesopic fable, as well as the Cologne epode with its detailed account of seduction.

In the fragments there is some indication that Bupalus' sexual relationship with a woman named Arete was given graphic treatment, although the details are obscure. Fr. 20 Degani = 12 West is perhaps the most suggestive passage:

> τούτοισι θηπέ̣ω̣ν τοὺς Ἐρυθραίων παῖδας
> ὁ μητροκοίτης Βούπαλος σὺν Ἀρήτῃ
> ⟨× –⟩ ὑφέλξων τὸν δυσώνυμον †ἄρτον

It may be impossible to recover the implications of the "children of the Erythraeans" in the first line, although ironically the passage is quoted to illustrate the meaning of θήπεον. An easy remedy for the corruption in the final line is Masson's δαρτόν, which, as Masson points out, "désignerait une partie du sexe," thus making the sexual overtones of the passage explicit. The adjective μητροκοίτης may superficially appear to be a generalized term of abuse, as is 'mother-fucker' in contemporary English, but the suggestion of incest may in fact reflect a prominent motif in Hipponax' treatment of Bupalus.[24] There seems to be a similar insinuation in fr. 69.7-8 Degani = 70.7-8 West:

> τὸν θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸν τοῦτον, ὃς κατευδούσης
> τῆς μητρὸς ἐσκύλευε τὸν βρύσσον

If this "godforsaken wretch, who used to poke his sleeping mother's sea anemone"[25] is Bupalus (admittedly an uncertain

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conjecture into fr. 17 Degani = 1 West, but this conjecture, however attractive, is unsound: see West, *Studies* 140 f.). Rosen (above, note 20) has attractively argued that Hipponax used the name Bupalus for humorous effect, playing on βοῦς and φαλλός.

23 It is possible that the feud was prompted by or at least a reflection of the rivalry between poets and sculptors: cf. Sim. fr. 581 *PMG* (on the implications of this passage, see A. Giacomelli, *Phoenix* 34 [1980] 10); Pind. *Nem.* 5.1 ff. See Fränkel, *EGPP* 215 n. 19; Degani, *Studi* 21. On the fame of Hipponax' invective against Bupalus and Athenis, see Callim. fr. 191.3-4 with Pfeiffer's note; Degani, *Studi* 20.

24 On the motif of incest, see Miralles and Pòrtulas (above, note 8) 45-69 (a revision of Pòrtulas, *Itaca* 1 [1985] 13-29).

25 M. L. West's translation (*Greek Lyric Poetry* [Oxford 1993] 119). For the names of sea-animals used with a similar obscene force, see J. Henderson,

assumption), the accusation of incest implicit in μητροκοίτης is repeated in detail. The phrase τὸν θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸν τοῦτον may indicate that the subject is polluted and so hateful to the gods,[26] and that appears to be said explicitly of Bupalus in another passage (fr. 19 Degani = 95a West):

ὡς οἱ μὲν †άγεῖ Βουπάλῳ κατηρῶντο

If the corruption here conceals a word for 'impure,'[27] we may have a reference to people who "cursed polluted Bupalus." The language of pollution is regularly used of incest,[28] and that proclivity may have been alleged to be the source of Bupalus' impurity. The allusion to a curse in fr. 19 has led some scholars to connect this passage with a purificatory scapegoat ritual, a practice which Hipponax seems to have described in some detail.[29] Bupalus' impiety may also have been mentioned in Hipponax' burlesque *Odyssey*, although Diehl's restoration of the relevant line is highly speculative and little can be discerned of the context (fr. 77.4 Degani = 77.4 West):[30]

ἀν]ό̣σιος ὥσπερ Βού̣[παλος

These passages offer some impression of the nature of Hipponax' invective against Bupalus, who is assailed for incest and impurity. As a mode of invective the accusation of incest finds a close parallel in Catullus' poems against Gellius (88-91).[31] Moreover, the

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*The Maculate Muse*² (New York 1991) 142

26 Both a phrase like θεοῖσιν ἐχθρός and the language of pollution are common in polemics: for the former, see the passages collected by Degani *ad loc.*; for the latter, see R. Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford 1983) 4-5.

27 See the various proposals assembled by Degani *ad loc.*

28 See Parker (above, note 26) 97 f. As Parker notes, although the language of pollution is regularly employed in this context, it is not certain that incest constitutes μίασμα in the strictest sense; see also A. W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility* (Oxford 1960) 110 f. n. 17.

29 For fr. 19 and a purificatory ritual, see L. Moulinier, *Le pur et l'impur dans la pensée des Grecs* (Paris 1952) 39 f. The evidence for Hipponax' description of such a rite is set out in frr. 5, 26-30 Degani = 5-10 West; for discussion, see J. M. Bremmer, *HSCP* 87 (1983) 299-320.

30 Both Degani and West prudently print ×]ά̣σιος ὥσπερ βου̣[; Diehl also suggested ἀσπ]ά̣σιος for the beginning of the line. For support of the line as supplemented above, see L. Koenen, *CE* 34 (1959) 114.

31 Other passages concerning attitudes towards incest are collected by Degani on fr. 69.

ideas of impurity and incest seem also to be combined in Sotades' infamous attack on Ptolemy Philadelphus after his marriage to his sister Arsinoe (εἰς οὐχ ὁσίην τρυμαλιὴν τὸ κέντρον ὠθεῖς, fr. 1 Powell, *CA* p. 238).[32]

In the case of Hipponax' feud with Bupalus and Athenis there were doubtless other methods of attack, but the fragments offer us little help in this regard. Athenis' name occurs but once in an unhelpful papyrus text; other passages mention Bupalus, but tell us little (cf. n. 22, above). The nature of Hipponax' campaign against the two sculptors must necessarily remain more obscure than Archilochus' attack on Lycambes.

What is noteworthy, however, is the motivation attributed to Hipponax by Pliny: the campaign of invective that ended in suicide was the result of the poet's being subjected to public mockery by the sculptors.[33] As in the case of Archilochus, we may recognize the seriousness of such a shaming; but it is striking to note that Hipponax was responding to a purely personal affront. Archilochus clearly treated Lycambes' transgression as a public offence, the breaking of a solemn oath that rendered Lycambes a γέλως to the community. Even Semonides seems to have structured his attack on women around their effect on the οἶκος, and such considerations have obvious implications for the society as a whole. These social concerns seem to lie close to the cultic roots of ἴαμβος; the poet's invective sought to support the traditional structure of community to which he belonged. Among the extant fragments of Hipponax there is no evidence for comparable preoccupations, and it may be that he composed ἴαμβος of a different kind.[34] Hipponax

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[32] It is often believed that this invective ultimately led to the poet's imprisonment and subsequent death: see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) 1.117-118. For a different view, however, see A. Cameron, *Callimachus and his Critics* (Princeton 1995) 18-22 (who supports ὠθεῖ with Athenaeus and Eustathius against Plutarch's ὠθεῖς).

[33] It is problematic, however, whether caricature was possible at this time: see Masson 13.

[34] Hipponax is in many ways a kind of proto-Hellenistic poet; he is learned and allusive in a way that is unusual in an archaic poet: cf. Degani, *Studi* 187 ff. Part of the reason for this may lie in the nature of his audience, which may have been smaller. This is, of course, little more than a guess, since we have no positive evidence for the social context of Hipponax' poetry; but it does reflect the sense one gets from the fragments that, despite the address to the men of Clazomenae (fr. 17 Degani = *1 West), Hipponax is less of a public poet than was Archilochus. Such considerations may explain his popularity among later, Hellenistic poets: see Degani, *Studi* 171 ff. (a revision of his brilliant paper in *QUCC* 16 [1973] 79-104).

wrote over a hundred years after the Parian poet, and thus ἴαμβος as practised by Hipponax seems to have stood farther away from its cultic roots. It may be that we are dealing with a distinct development from cultic ἴαμβος, that such songs differed in character and perhaps function among the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor. It is also possible that we see in Hipponax the natural development of the genre, as ἴαμβος moved away from the cultic setting in which it was created. In this light, Hipponax may stand in relation to Archilochus as Menander does to Aristophanes. It would be a mistake to assume that archaic ἴαμβος was a monolithic form that remained constant in tone and manner from seventh-century Paros to sixth-century Ephesus and beyond.

ELEGY

by

Douglas E. Gerber

INTRODUCTION

The entry under "elegy" in a dictionary will read something like "a poem written on the death of someone," but when we examine the contents of early Greek elegy we find that this definition rarely applies. In fact, almost any topic apart from the scurrilous or obscene was deemed a suitable subject, with the result that for our purpose elegy may be defined as simply "a poem composed in elegiac couplets." As we will see when we come to the individual poets, much of what remains might be loosely grouped under the headings "philosophical" and "hortatory." Under the former are poems on the brevity of youth and the horrors of old age, on the true nature of ἀρετή, on proper conduct in a wide range of spheres, on human foibles, on what is beneficial or harmful to the state, and on bittersweet love. Under the latter are poems exhorting citizens to fight bravely or to endure misfortune. Obviously some poems contain both philosophical and hortatory features. But in addition to these two very general categories we also find verses on a number of other topics. Some verses contain mythological narrative, although no elegies seem to have been exclusively mythological, some are bantering or contain riddles, some relate the poet's experiences or respond to events, some are historical, and some appear to be purely descriptive, such as Solon's account of the ten heptads that constitute a 70-year lifespan (fr. 27). It is also important to keep in mind that our knowledge of the contents of early elegy is severely hampered by the fragmentary nature of most of what has survived. Some of what has been preserved has the appearance of completeness, such as Solon fr. 13 (76 lines), Arch. fr. 13 (10 lines), Mimn. fr. 1 (10 lines), and several poems in the *Theognidea*, but in no instance can we be certain. There is also a category of elegy which has all but disappeared and which consists of lengthy poems on the history of a particular colony or state. Bowie (pp. 28-34), with varying degrees of confidence, assigns to this category Mimnermus' *Smyrneis*, Tyrtaeus' *Politeia/Eunomia*, Semonides' *Archaeologia of the Samians*, Xenophanes' *Foundation of Colophon and the Colonization of Elea* (2000 lines), Panyassis' *Ionica* (7000 lines), and Ion's *Foundation of Chios*. Some of these may not have been in elegiacs and Ion's work is considered by many to have been in

prose, but Bowie makes a plausible case for the existence of this kind of elegiac composition. Apart from this category elegies could be of varying length. Solon's poem on Salamis (frr. 1-3) contained 100 lines and no doubt some consisted of only one couplet. The occasion or audience may well have been a determining factor in some instances.

Occasion

It has often been assumed that much elegiac poetry was delivered at symposia, and this seems highly probable.[1] There is ample evidence that poetry was a standard feature of symposia and although elegy is seldom explicitly mentioned, it must surely have been included. I see no reason, therefore, to doubt the general validity of Pellizer's sweeping statement (*Sympotica* 180): "almost all elegiac and iambic poetry from Archilochus onwards, as well as a substantial part of the *enkomia*, finds its natural focus in the *symposion* of the *hetaireia* or the *symposion* of tyrants." One exception that has sometimes been made is martial elegy, with its exhortations to valour. Since such verses are directed to the citizen-army as a whole, it might seem more natural to assume that they were delivered in front of the army prior to battle. This can scarcely be true, however, of Callinus fr. 1 where the verb κατάκεισθε is most naturally taken to imply reclining at a symposium (Bowie, *Sympotica* 223). There is no such internal evidence for Tyrtaeus' martial elegies, and we have external testimony that his elegies were sung while the Spartans were on campaign. This testimony is examined in detail by Bowie (*Sympotica* 224-28) and it must suffice to say that he makes a plausible case for the view that the location for the singing was the king's tent. As Bowie states, "the occasion has a sympotic character, and ... we need not—indeed may not—postulate a special parade-ground context for the recitation of elegies in Sparta." Some of Tyrtaeus' elegies may have had their first performance in the king's tent, others at the Spartan messes. Those which were deemed most stirring would be repeated over and over again in both locations.

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[1] On symposia in general see the collected essays by O. Murray (ed.), *Sympotica* (Oxford 1990), by W. J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context* (Ann Arbor 1991), and by M. Vetta (ed.), *Poesia e simposio nella Grecia antica. Guida storica e critica* (Rome & Bari 1983).

A non-sympotic occasion might seem to be implied by Arch. fr. 4, with the command to go through the benches of a ship and fetch wine, but we have no context and our verses may be a report, in direct speech, of what was said at an earlier time.

It has been suggested that some of Solon's political elegies were delivered in the agora and this must be true if we accept the testimony of the sources which state that Solon delivered his poem on Salamis (frr. 1-3) from the herald's stone in the agora. Bowie (p. 19), however, has illustrated how this story could have arisen from an incorrect understanding of Solon's opening words. Even if the story is accepted, delivery in the agora must have been the exception that proves the rule and we can assume that on other occasions Solon's elegies, as well as his iambic and trochaic verses, were sung at symposia.

There is some evidence that elegies could be a feature of the κῶμος or revel. Theognis 1065 refers to singing to the accompaniment of pipe-players while on a revel (ἔστι δὲ κωμάζοντα μετ' αὐλητῆρσι ἀείδειν) and he may have elegies in mind. The Alexandrian poet Hermesianax (fr. 7.37-38) states that Mimnermus often κώμους εἶχε while playing the pipe and since Mimnermus was an elegist it may have been elegies that he accompanied. But since the *kômos* was often simply an extension or aftermath of the symposium, the singing of elegies at a *kômos* scarcely differs from the singing of them at a symposium.

There remains one occasion for the singing of elegies which clearly did not involve the symposium and that is the public festival. As was mentioned earlier, Bowie has argued at length for the existence of long, narrative elegies and there can be little doubt that these were delivered at public festivals. He assumes that they were entered for competition and this is obviously possible, although there is no direct evidence in support. We do, however, have evidence for elegiac competition, but without any indication of the contents or length of the elegies involved. Apart from Ps.-Plutarch (*De musica* 1134a) who refers to an inscription περὶ τοῦ μουσικοῦ ἀγῶνος at the Panathenaic festival in connection with ἐλεγεῖα μεμελοποιημένα ("elegies set to music"), Pausanias (10.7.5-6) quotes an inscription commemorating the victory of Echembrotus in the Pythian games of 586:

Ἐχέμβροτος Ἀρκὰς
θῆκε τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ
νικήσας τόδ' ἄγαλμ' Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐν ἀέθλοις,
Ἕλλησι δ' ἀείδων
μέλεα καὶ ἐλέγους.

(West, *IEG* II[2] p. 62)

Echembrotus of Arcadia dedicated to Heracles this gift [a tripod], as a result of his winning in the contests of the Amphictions and his singing songs and elegies to the Greeks.

Ps.-Plutarch speaks of ἐλεγεῖα, the inscription of ἐλέγους, and we must now discuss the question of terminology.

Ἔλεγος, Ἐλεγεῖον, Ἐλεγεία

The ancient lexicographers postulated a variety of derivations (εὖ λέγειν, ἐλεεῖν, ἒ ἒ λέγειν) and modern scholars have proposed connections with ἄλγος or ἐλελεῦ or a presumed lament in the form of ϝῆλεγε ϝῆλεγε ϝή (half a pentameter). Perhaps the most attractive derivation is from the Armenian *elegn* "reed," a word which may have been borrowed from Phrygian (see Bowie 27 n. 74). As we shall see, there is evidence that a reed-instrument, the αὐλός ("pipe"), could and probably usually did accompany the singing of elegies. This origin has been recently defended by Lambin for ἔλεγος, but much more problematic is his hypothesis that ἐλεγεῖον has a purely Greek derivation and is to be connected with such words as ἔλιγμα and εἰλέω. In his view ἐλεγεῖον denotes a "ligne qui tourne [dans l'ecriture βουστροφηδόν]," so as to form an elegiac couplet. Of little value for our purpose are the mythological figures Elege and Elegeia (see West, *Studies* 9).

The word ἔλεγος is attested first in the inscription commemorating Echembrotus' victory in 586 (see above). Immediately prior to citing the inscription Pausanias tells us that in the second Pythian games pipe-singing was abolished because of its "inauspicious sound," since it consisted of the "gloomiest songs" (μέλη ... τὰ σκυθρωπότατα) and of "elegies sung to the pipes" (ἐλεγεῖα προσᾳδόμενα τοῖς αὐλοῖς). After the word ἐλεγεῖα Pausanias' text

has θρῆνοι which editors rightly excise as an intrusive gloss. But even without the gloss it is clear that Pausanias understood ἐλεγεῖα to mean "laments" and it is also clear that he gave the same meaning to ἐλέγους in the inscription, since he explicitly cites the latter as evidence for his statement about the nature of pipe-singing. Bowie (p. 23), however, seems completely justified in asserting that the inscription "in no way supports his [Pausanias'] characterisation of *aulodia*, although by associating *elegoi* with the tunes that Echembrotus sang it perhaps betrays how Pausanias reached his conclusion. To Pausanias, as to the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman world as a whole, *elegoi* were by definition—and perhaps by etymology—mournful." There is no reason to assume that Pausanias could have had any evidence for the nature of pipe-singing in the Pythian games of 586. All he knew was that the contest was discontinued.

We meet *elegos* next in five passages from Euripides and one from Aristophanes (see Page 206-208, Lambin 70), and in all six "sung lament" seems to be what the word conveys. Page, writing on the elegiacs in Eur. *Andr.* 103-16, the only elegiacs found in Greek tragedy, argues for the view that the literary ancestry of "threnodic elegies" is to be found in Dorian poets such as Echembrotus and Sacadas, the latter an Ἀργεῖος ποιητὴς μελῶν τε καὶ ἐλεγείων μεμελοποιημένων and an αὐλητής (Ps.-Plut. *De musica* 1134a). Page's assumption, however, is not supported by any ancient evidence, since, as we have seen, Pausanias' testimony about Echembrotus is to be discounted and since nowhere are we told that Dorian *elegoi* were threnodic. Nevertheless, we must admit that at the end of the 5th century *elegos* had acquired the meaning "sung lament." What prompted this development is unknown. Bowie (p. 25) offers the suggestion that "one reason for the sudden focus of attention on the word *elegos* in these years was that one of Euripides' contemporaries with an interest in etymology and the history of music advanced the theory that *elegos* ought to mean 'lament', presumably adducing the fact that (by the late fifth century) the elegiac couplet was regularly used for sepulchral epigrams and the further hypothesis that *elegos* was to be derived from ἒ ἒ λέγειν." From the Hellenistic period on *elegos* can mean either "lament" or "elegiac poetry."

The next term to be attested is ἐλεγεῖον and the word occurs in a number of 5th- and 4th-century authors (see Dover 187, West 3-4).

Most often it means "elegiac couplet" and in the plural "poems composed of elegiac couplets," occasionally simply the pentameter line. The feminine ἐλεγεία is found first in Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 5, introducing Solon frr. 4a and 4b) and, as West (p. 3) states, "The singular means '(extended) poem in elegiac metre', the plural is used as a kind of book-title. The singular can also mean 'elegy' as a genre." Thus, ἐλεγεῖα and ἐλεγεία are often synonymous.

Finally, which of these terms, if any, was used in the archaic period to designate what we call elegy? Solon (fr. 1.2) and Theognis (20, 22) use ἔπεα to refer to their own poetry, but that probably means simply "verses." West's view is that elegy "was not known by any collective name because it had no single occasion or function" (p. 7) and, arguing that *elegos* originally meant "sung lament," he assumes that *elegeion* was coined as a designation of what was presumably a common metrical characteristic of *elegoi.* Bowie, on the other hand, points out the lack of evidence for this meaning of *elegos* prior to Euripides and concludes (p. 27) that "we cannot choose between the hypothesis that ἔλεγος in archaic Greece meant 'a song sung to the *aulos* (in general)' and that it meant 'the sort of song, usually accompanied by the *aulos,* that was sung chiefly at symposia'." Neither West's nor Bowie's hypothesis is fully satisfactory, but of the two Bowie's, I think, takes better account of the evidence.

Performance

It is clear from what has just been quoted that in Bowie's view the αὐλός, "pipe" or "oboe" (not "flute"), regularly accompanied the singing of elegy, and many earlier scholars, including West, are of the same opinion. Campbell and Rosenmeyer, however, have objected and the evidence for pipe-accompaniment is in fact somewhat problematic.

Ps.-Plutarch (*De musica* 1134a) tells us that according to Hipponax (fr. 153) Mimnermus αὐλῆσαι a (presumably elegiac) *nomos* called Κραδίας and then adds: ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ ἐλεγεῖα μεμελοποιημένα οἱ αὐλῳδοὶ ᾖδον, "in the beginning pipe-singers sang elegies set to music." Ps.-Plutarch, however, supports this statement by referring to an inscription on the musical contest at the Panathenaic games and so his deduction need not apply to elegies in general. Strabo

(14.1.28) calls Mimnermus an αὐλητὴς ἅμα καὶ ποιητὴς ἐλεγείας, perhaps implying that the pipe accompanied his elegies. There are several references to pipe-playing in the *Theognidea,* but the significance of this is not always clear. In vv. 241-43 Theognis states that young men will sing (ᾄσονται) of Cyrnus σὺν αὐλίσκοισι λιγυφθόγγοις. This is presumably to be taken with the preceding mention of θοίνῃς δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι and the passage as a whole has been treated by many as proof that Theognis' elegies were, or at least could be, accompanied by the pipe. It is proof, however, only if Theognis has in mind his own elegies on Cyrnus and not a different kind of poetic composition to be created by others. In vv. 533-34 we read: χαίρω δ' εὖ πίνων καὶ ὑπ' αὐλητῆρος ἀείδων, / χαίρω δ' εὔφθογγον χερσὶ λύρην ὀχέων. Although ἀείδων is a probable emendation of ἀκούων, it is uncertain whether the reference is to elegy. It is possible that we have a contrast between elegiac and melic poetry, but it is also possible that there is either no reference to elegy at all or that on occasion elegies could also be accompanied by the lyre.[2] Problematic too are vv. 825-26: πῶς ὑμῖν τέτληκεν ὑπ' αὐλητῆρος ἀείδειν / θυμός; Is the poet referring to his own elegies or to some other form of composition? The same uncertainty is present in vv. 943-44 ἐγγύθεν αὐλητῆρος ἀείσομαι ὧδε καταστὰς / δεξιός, ἀθανάτοις θεοῖσιν ἐπευχόμενος, in 1041-42 δεῦρο σὺν αὐλητῆρι· παρὰ κλαίοντι γελῶντες / πίνωμεν, κείνου κήδεσι τερπόμενος, and in 1065 (above p. 93). Other references to the *aulos* in the *Theognidea* are no less problematic, but the sheer number of them strongly suggests that the instrument was a common accompaniment to elegy.

It is possible, however, that some elegies were unaccompanied. A poem as long as Antimachus' *Lyde,* which was in at least two books, might be placed in this category, although we should not underestimate the endurance of a pipe-player, especially if brief rests were allowed. If the circumstances leading up to Solon's singing of his poem on Salamis are correctly reported, accompaniment seems unlikely, but these circumstances may well be simply a concoction (above p. 93). Very short elegies, of one or two couplets, may have been unaccompanied and there must have been occasions when no pipe-player was at hand.

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[2] Euripides twice (*IT* 146, *Hel.* 185) describes ἔλεγος as ἄλυρος, but the adjective need mean nothing more than "mournful." Cf., however, *Hypsip.* I.iii.9-10 Bond, ἔλεγον ... ἐβόα κίθαρις Ὀρφέως.

Throughout I have referred to the "singing" of elegy and I see no reason to tone down the force of the verb ἀείδω which is commonly used in connection with elegy. Particularly significant in this regard is Solon's use of the imperative ἄειδε (fr. 20) in response to Mimnermus (fr. 6). A phrase such as ἐλεγεῖα μεμελοποιημένα mentioned above might suggest that elegies were not regularly set to music, but Ps.-Plutarch must be contrasting earlier times with his own, when elegies were recited and were unaccompanied by any musical instrument. The most detailed defense of the singing of elegy and of pipe-accompaniment is to be found in the article by Bartol.

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CALLINUS

Date and Homeland

Ancient sources are unanimous in calling Callinus a citizen of Ephesus. As will be seen below, he can be dated with confidence to the middle of the 7th century.

Poetry

Although we have extant only a 21-line fragment, one hexameter, one pentameter, and two 3-word fragments, it seems that Strabo had access to a number of Callinus' poems and used them as historical sources. During much of the 7th century there were wars involving the Greek cities of Asia Minor, the Lydians, and the Cimmerians. The latter came down from the eastern area of the Black Sea into Phrygia and then into Lydia. Gyges, the Lydian ruler, was at first successful in repelling them but was killed in 652. A few years later, c. 645, when Gyges' son Ardys was on the throne, the Cimmerians captured the Lydian capital Sardis except for its citadel (Hdt. 1.15). Callisthenes, as reported by Strabo 13.4.8 (= fr. 5b W.), stated that Sardis was captured twice, first by the Cimmerians and then by the Trerians and Lycians, and that his source was Callinus. If Callisthenes is to be trusted, it seems that Callinus mentioned both the invasion which resulted in Gyges' death and the second invasion during the rule of Gyges' son. The Trerians appear in fr. 4 and according to Strabo 14.1.40 (= fr. 3) the Trerians were a Cimmerian tribe.

In the same passage Strabo states that the Trerians destroyed Magnesia and that in the following year the Milesians occupied the territory. Strabo goes on to say that Callinus spoke of the Magnesians as prospering whereas Archilochus knew of their destruction. He cites Arch. fr. 20 as proof and then uses this as evidence that Callinus is earlier than Archilochus. Such a deduction is obviously unwarranted, since only a few years might have separated the two poems, and in addition Athenaeus 12.525c cites both Callinus and Archilochus as authorities for the destruction of

Magnesia (although here Magnesia's destruction is attributed to the Ephesians).

In Callinus' one substantial fragment (fr. 1) the poet is clearly attempting to rouse his countrymen from their inactivity and the reason is sometimes assumed to be the threat of attack by the Cimmerians, whom Callinus explicitly names in fr. 5 (according to Strabo 13.4.8, this fragment refers to the capture of Sardis). An attack did in fact materialize, in the course of which the Cimmerian leader Lygdamis burned the temple of Artemis in Ephesus. Ephesus and Magnesia, however, were also at war, as Strabo 14.1.40 states, and Strabo adds that Callinus spoke of the Magnesians as having the upper hand. The Cimmerians and the Magnesians, therefore, have an equal claim to be the cause of Callinus' exhortations to stand firm against the imminent danger.

Fr. 1 is an example of a type of elegy which we will encounter several times in Tyrtaeus and probably also in Mimnermus (fr. 14) and Solon (frr. 1-3), namely, a poet's appeal to his countrymen to be unflinching in battle, to display the utmost courage and heroism. It is particularly instructive to compare Callinus with his contemporary Tyrtaeus. In general terms their appeals and exhortations are similar, but Callinus is clearly the superior poet. We find a greater use of enjambement, a more varied sentence-structure, and smoother transitions than in Tyrtaeus. Although fr. 1 is replete with epic words and phrases, it is no mere pastiche of Homer. Many of the words are used in combinations not found in Homer and references to Homeric passages are often allusive rather than direct. Another difference from Homer is the emphasis on fighting and dying for one's fellow citizens and family rather than for personal glory. The tactics, however, do not seem to differ from those in Homer. There is no suggestion of fighting as a group, but rather of individual heroism.[1]

It seems probable in view of the opening κατάκεισθε that Callinus sang these verses at a symposium, the occasion on which so much elegiac poetry was delivered. It is not likely, therefore, that the poem was very long. Except for a lacuna, which probably exceeded one hexameter but need not have exceeded more than three verses, the poem may well be complete. It has an effective

[1] On the style of fr. 1 see Adkins, *Poetic Craft* 55-56, and on the battle tactics see J. Latacz, *Kampfparänese, Kampfdarstellung und Kampfwirklichkeit in der Ilias, bei Kallinos und Tyrtaios* (Munich 1977).

opening and a satisfactory ending. If fr. 1 was typical of Callinus' poetry, it is a real pity that we have so little.

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See *Lustrum* 33 (1991) 136-38. There is a good survey of the historical events relevant to Callinus in Podlecki, *Early Gr. Poets* 52-56.

TYRTAEUS

Date and Life

Virtually all that we are told about Tyrtaeus in the ancient sources is included in the entry under the poet's name in the *Suda.* This information, as is typical of the *Suda,* is garbled and untrustworthy, but it will serve as a starting-point. At the beginning of the entry Tyrtaeus is said to have been a Laconian or Milesian, but later on he is described as a lame Athenian whom the Spartans sent for at the direction of the Delphic oracle to become their στρατηγός[1] in their war with the Messenians. Under his encouragement they captured Messenia in the twentieth year.[2] Tyrtaeus' Athenian birth appears first in Plato (*Laws* 1.629a) and the scholiast on the passage adds that he was a lame schoolmaster (γραμματίστης ... χωλός). Pausanias (4.15.6) goes a step further and states that Tyrtaeus was also dim-witted (νοῦν τε ἥκιστα ἔχειν δοκῶν). It is difficult to determine the basis on which such statements were made, but however we explain them there can be little doubt that they are false. It has been sometimes suggested that Tyrtaeus' Athenian birth was invented in order to denigrate Sparta and it is possible that this lay behind the story that he was a lame, dim-witted schoolmaster, but Plato was such an admirer of Sparta that he can hardly have intended any denigration. Since Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 215 ap. Strabo 8.4.10) referred to Tyrtaeus as Ἀθηναῖός τε καὶ Ἀφιδναῖος and since there was an Aphidna in Attica and in Laconia, this may have contributed to the representation of Tyrtaeus as Athenian. The most recent discussion is by N. R. E. Fisher in A. Powell and S. Hodkinson (edd.), *The Shadow of Sparta* (London 1994) 362-64. "The story was surely an invention by Athenians, designed in the first instance for a predominantly Athenian market. It must have been aimed at making co-operation

[1] Although some, such as F. Rossi, "La "strategie" di Tirteo," *AIV* 126 (1967-68) 343-75, maintain that Tyrtaeus held a high military position, this seems unlikely. It may have been assumed that only a military commander could give military admonitions and instructions, but it is an unnecessary assumption.

[2] The *Suda* has confused the First Messenian War, which did last twenty years (fr. 5), with the Second whose duration is unknown.

between Sparta and Athens more acceptable" (p. 362). The version which represented him as Milesian probably arose from the false assumption that a native Spartan would have used the Doric dialect. Elegists, however, use the Ionic dialect regardless of the audience. It is often stated that Tyrtaeus must have been Spartan because in fr. 2 he uses the first person plural, and therefore includes himself among the Heraclidae to whom Sparta was given by Zeus, and also because Tyrtaeus' admonitions would have been tolerated only if delivered by a native Spartan.

The *Suda* assigns Tyrtaeus' *floruit* to the 35th Olympiad (640-637), but we have no means of determining the basis on which this statement was made. In fr. 5 Tyrtaeus tells us that "our fathers' fathers" (πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες) fought for 19 years in the First Messenian War and were victorious in the 20th year. Unfortunately, the date for this war, as well as that of the Second during which Tyrtaeus was composing most of his extant poetry, cannot be readily established. In the most recent study a good case has been made for dating the First War to c. 690-670 and consequently the Second to the latter part of the 7th century.[3]

According to the *Suda* Tyrtaeus' poetry was collected in five books and consisted of a Πολιτεία Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὑποθῆκαι, and μέλη πολεμιστήρια. Aristotle (*Pol.* 1306b36) and Strabo (8.4.10) refer to an elegy called Εὐνομία and this is generally treated as an alternative title for Πολιτεία. In all probability this was a poem, or perhaps a collection of poems, whose subject might be broadly defined as civil or constitutional (West groups frr. 1-4 under Εὐνομία), i.e., poetry which dealt with the origin and structure of government in Sparta. It is likely that the term ὑποθῆκαι was intended to describe such poems as frr. 10-12 and 18-23a which contain numerous precepts on the proper conduct of a soldier. Most critics consider the μέλη πολεμιστήρια to be the same as what other sources call ἐμβατήρια, ἐνόπλια or ἔπη ἀνάπαιστα, i.e., marching songs in anapaests and presumably in the Laconian dialect. None of these has survived, since those ascribed to Tyrtaeus (frr. 856-57 *PMG*) are judged to be spurious. No fragment of Tyrtaeus is cited from a specific book and there is no evidence that the Alexandrians made a critical edition of his works.

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3 See V. Parker, "The Dates of the Messenian Wars," *Chiron* 21 (1991) 25-47. Also Mosshammer, *Chronicle* 204-209.

Poetry

Many during the 19th and early 20th centuries argued that there are numerous interpolations and that only portions of what has come down to us under the name of Tyrtaeus are genuine,[4] but that scepticism has now largely disappeared and there is essentially disagreement only about whether Plutarch's or Diodorus' version (or a combination of the two) is to be accepted for fr. 4.[5] Tyrtaeus' poetry, at least as we now have it, seems to be exclusively concerned either with issues arising from the Second Messenian War or with the government of the state, and the latter may be connected with civil strife resulting from the war (cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1306b36). It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that he was more a spokesman for the establishment than the promulgator of an individual point of view. In a sense he was a kind of poet laureate for the state.

The most controversial of the fragments of Tyrtaeus is fr. 4 mentioned above. According to Plutarch (*Lyc.* 6) Lycurgus brought an oracle from Delphi which was called a *rhetra* (literally "something spoken") and Plutarch proceeds to quote it. In part it states that there is to be established a τριάκοντα γερουσίαν σὺν ἀρχαγέταις, i.e., a council of 28 elders together with the two kings, that they are "to introduce proposals and set them aside" (εἰσφέρειν τε καὶ ἀφίστασθαι) and that "the people have the right to speak against the proposals and the power (final decision?)" (δάμω δὲ ἀν<τα>γορίαν ἦμην καὶ κράτος). Plutarch then goes on to say that later, when the people exercised their power by taking away from or adding to the proposals, the kings Polydorus and Theopompus inserted a rider to the *rhetra* which stated that if the people should say anything crooked (σκολίαν), the elders and the kings are to set it aside (ἀποστατῆρας). Since Theopompus was king during the First Messenian War (fr. 5), Plutarch is dating the rider to the latter part of the 8th century. Plutarch concludes by stating that the people were persuaded that this was the god's command "as Tyrtaeus mentions," and he quotes six verses which form the beginning of West's fr. 4. There seems little doubt that Plutarch's text breaks off before reaching a satisfactory syntactical conclusion and this is reinforced by the omission of any reference to the

[4] See Prato 8*-20* for an excellent account of the various views on authenticity.

[5] There is also still some debate about fr. 12 (see note 8).

rider. Both deficiencies are remedied by Diodorus' text (7.12.6) and I see no adequate reason not to continue Plutarch's verses with those of Diodorus. The textual and historical problems presented by fr. 4 and the *rhetra* (including the rider) have generated a vast literature and much remains disputed.[6] For our purpose it must suffice to say that Tyrtaeus' poem was presumably composed at a time when there was some kind of political crisis, perhaps as a result of setbacks during the Second Messenian War. The poem envisions an audience consisting of the entire citizen-body, but the occasion on which it was sung is not easy to conjecture.[7]

The three longest fragments (10-12) are all on martial topics and suggest (especially fr. 10) that the fighting was desperate. In frr. 10 and 11 Tyrtaeus fluctuates between admonition to stand firm in battle, together with assurance of glory for those who do, whether they live or die, and a vivid portrayal of the disgrace that attends the cowardly. Fr. 12, on the nature of ἀρετή, is more philosophical, but the subject is still martial, since ἀρετή or true worth is defined as steadfastness in battle, and I see no reason to support those who reject the fragment's authenticity.[8] The tattered papyrus fragments (18-23a) are also on the topic of war, but seem more a description of actual or imminent battles and tactics than exhortation to fight bravely.[9]

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[6] An important treatment remains that of H. T. Wade-Gery, "The Spartan Rhetra in Plutarch, *Lycurgus VI*," *CQ* 36 (1943) 57-78 and 37 (1944) 1-9, 115-26, reprinted in: *Essays in Greek History* (Oxford 1958) 37-85. See also Jeffery 117-18, 249-50, Cartledge 134-35, 157, A. J. Podlecki, *Early Gr. Poets* 100-109, M. L. West, *CR* n.s. 20 (1970) 150-51, and M. Nafissi, *La nascita del* kosmos. *Studi sulla storia e la società di Sparta* (Naples 1991) 51-97. The language of both the *rhetra* and the rider has recently been the subject of a detailed and provocative study by D. Ogden, "Crooked Speech: The Genesis of the Spartan Rhetra," *JHS* 114 (1994) 85-102. He makes a strong case, in opposition to Plutarch's testimony, for treating the *rhetra* as in fact later than the rider and as giving more power to the people.

[7] See p. 92 for a discussion of the occasions on which Tyrtaeus' poetry was sung.

[8] Most critics have been convinced by Jaeger's defence of fr. 12 in *Five Essays* (Montreal 1966) 103-42 (originally published in German in 1932), but Fränkel, *EGPP* 337-39, assigns it "to the time of Xenophanes," and G. Tarditi, "Parenesi e aretê nel corpus tirtaico," *RFIC* 110 (1982) 257-76, dates it to shortly before Pindar's *Pythian* 10 (498).

[9] On the problems associated with the arms and method of fighting described in Tyrtaeus, see H. L. Lorimer, "The Hoplite Phalanx with Special Reference to the Poems of Archilochus and Tyrtaeus," *ABSA* 42 (1947) 76-138, esp. 121-28, A. M. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons* (Edinburgh 1964) 181-82, and Adkins, *Poetic Craft* 77-78. See also Latacz in n. 1 on Callinus.

Tyrtaeus' language is heavily indebted to Homer, which is hardly surprising in view of the subject matter.[10] Usually the resemblances are restricted to short phrases or epithets, but in some instances Tyrtaeus seems to have in mind and to be remodelling longer Homeric passages.[11] There is also the possibility that Tyrtaeus was indebted to some degree to Sparta's only native epic poet, Cinaethon, but our information about him is sparse and controversial.[12] Adkins remarks that "Tyrtaeus has little skill or interest in composing sentences which derive some of their effect from the manner in which they are set in the elegiac couplet,"[13] and it is true that he is not a poet of the first rank. Transitions are sometimes awkward, there is some degree of padding, and he is not averse to repeating himself (for example, the couplet in fr. 10.31-32 is identical to fr. 11.21-22), but occasionally there are striking phrases and effective imagery, and there is no denying the impassioned earnestness with which he sets forth his exhortations. Various sources attribute Sparta's success in the war to Tyrtaeus' encouragement, and although this can be merely a deduction on their part, there is no reason to doubt that his verses helped bolster morale and inspired greater courage in battle.

The Homeric nature of Tyrtaeus' language does not, however, mean that his outlook is always the same as Homer's. Although Homer does on occasion speak of fighting on behalf of one's homeland, this is much more prominent in Tyrtaeus and there is more emphasis on the consequences of cowardice. Different too is Tyrtaeus' concept of ἀρετή. In Homer it describes excellence in a particular area, such as in running, whereas in Tyrtaeus it is the sum total of one's manly worth and for him this is steadfastness in battle. If this is lacking, πᾶσ' ἀπόλωλ' ἀρετή (fr. 11.14). This is elaborated on in fr. 12.10 ff. where ἀρετή is defined as looking upon carnage and reaching out for the enemy.[14]

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[10] On the few forms not found in Homer, especially the short accusative plural in -ας (frr. 4.5, 7.1, 20.14), see G. P. Edwards, *The Language of Hesiod in its Traditional Context* (Oxford 1971) 141-65.

[11] Particularly striking is the use made of *Iliad* 22.66-76 in fr. 8.19-30. See Prato 95-96, P. Janni, *La cultura di Sparta arcaica. Ricerche* II (Rome 1970) 62-73, and C. M. Dawson in *YCS* 19 (1966) 50-58.

[12] On Cinaethon see G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis* (London 1969) 85-88.

[13] Adkins, *Poetic Craft* 78. Adkins 67-92 analyses the metre and style of frr. 4 and 11.

[14] On Tyrtaeus' concept of ἀρετή see C. M. Bowra, *Early Greek Elegists*

The Sparta of Tyrtaeus' day is sometimes depicted in the same light as the Sparta of two centuries later, so that his poetry is deemed to be representative of the only kind of literature that was accepted. This is clearly wrong, for apart from Alcman who must have been roughly contemporary with Tyrtaeus, we hear of a number of poets and musicians who visited Sparta, Terpander of Lesbos, Thaletas of Crete, Xenodamus of Cythera, Xenocritus of Locri, Polymnestus of Colophon, and Sacadas of Argos (Ps.-Plut. *De musica* 9.1134bc).[15] Furthermore, the visual arts were flourishing in Sparta until well on into the 6th century.[16] Tyrtaeus, therefore, attests to only one aspect of literary activity current in Sparta in the late 7th century.

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(Cambridge, Mass. 1935) 65-69 and J. S. Lasso de la Vega, "El guerrero tirteico," *Emerita* 30 (1962) 9-57. On more general differences in outlook between Homer and Tyrtaeus see Prato 22*-26* and B. Snell, *Tyrtaios und die Sprache des Epos* (Göttingen 1969). Some of Snell's conclusions, however, have won little acceptance.

[15] On these poets see A. J. Podlecki, "Poetry and Society in Archaic Sparta," *Actes du VIIe Congrès de la Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Etudes Classiques* I (Budapest 1984) 175-82.

[16] See Jeffery 127-32 and Cartledge 154-58.

MIMNERMUS

The problems associated with Mimnermus' date, homeland and writings are discussed by West, *Studies* 72-76, and Allen 9-29. What follows is heavily indebted to their studies and they should be consulted for further details.

Date

According to the *Suda* Mimnermus' *floruit* was in the 37th Olympiad (632-29) and the majority of critics have accepted that as being substantially correct. Three pieces of evidence have been adduced for the poet's date, only one of which is of any real significance. In fr. 14 the speaker, who I assume is Mimnermus himself, praises the fighting ability of someone who routed the Lydians on the plain by the river Hermus. He states that he heard of this hero's exploits from his own forbears and there seems no reason to doubt that the battle in question was the defeat of Gyges by the Smyrnaeans in the 660s. The occasion on which Mimnermus is rallying the citizens to emulate this hero may be the imminent battle with Alyattes who succeeded in totally razing Smyrna c. 600. It has been suggested that the poet's name is a compound derived from μίμνω and Ἕρμος and was given to him in celebration of the victory over Gyges. This would indicate that he was born in the 660s and would support the *Suda*'s *floruit.* Perhaps Mimnermus was killed in the fighting with Alyattes or died before the battle, since there is no reference in the admittedly meager remains of his poetry to the destruction of Smyrna, although it should be recognized that after the destruction there would be no audience for his poetry.

It appears from fr. 20 that Mimnermus mentioned an eclipse in his poetry but without a context we cannot determine whether he was referring to a specific eclipse in his lifetime. There was, however, a total eclipse at Smyrna on April 6, 648.

In fr. 6 Mimnermus expresses the wish that he might die at the age of sixty and Solon in fr. 20 urges him to change this to eighty. Solon was born c. 640, but there is no means of determining how old Solon was at the time he composed fr. 20 or whether

Mimnermus was still alive. According to West, *Studies* 72, "Mimnermus must have been young when he set sixty as a good age to die, but Solon was not necessarily old when he proposed eighty as a better idea." I fail to see the logic behind the first statement. The young seldom think much about the onset of old age or death, and it seems likelier that Mimnermus was at least middle-aged at the time. Solon may have assumed Mimnermus was still alive when he composed fr. 20 and it has been suggested that he actually visited Smyrna and met Mimnermus, but neither hypothesis is necessary. As Allen 12 rightly states, Solon's fr. 20 "provides only a vague *terminus ante quem* for Mimnermus: he lived no later than the time of Solon."

Homeland

The ancient sources disagree on Mimnermus' homeland and the *Suda* reflects this by referring to him as Κολοφώνιος ἢ Σμυρναῖος ἢ Ἀστυπυλαιεύς. The last can be discounted as probably deriving from a reference to the ἄστυ πάλαιον of either Colophon or Smyrna. The best support for Smyrna is provided by fr. 9 where it is stated that "we left Pylos, settled in Colophon, and setting out from there captured Aeolian Smyrna." It is difficult to interpret this in any other way than the poet's own assertion that he is a Smyrnaean, unless we take the extreme view that these verses are a direct speech put in the mouth of someone else. The fact that he composed a poem called *Smyrneis* and that fr. 14, as we have seen, relates the exploits of a Smyrnaean hero, also point to Smyrna as his homeland. That several sources represent him as a Colophonian has been explained as deriving from the probability that he frequently mentioned Colophon in his poetry—apart from the reference to Colophon in fr. 9 we are told in fr. 10 that he mentioned Andraemon, the founder of Colophon—and from the fact that in contrast to Smyrna "Colophon had a continuous tradition down to Hellenistic times" (West, *Studies* 72).

Poetry

The *Suda* concludes its entry on Mimnermus with the obviously corrupt words ἔγραψε βιβλία ταῦτα πολλά. However these words are

to be emended (see Allen 23 n. 9), we have the explicit testimony of Porphyrio (on Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.101) that Mimnermus wrote *duos libros* and there is no reason to question this. No ancient source cites Mimnermus from a specific book, but several cite verses from a work entitled *Nanno* and one from a *Smyrneis.* Those ascribed to *Nanno* include frr. 4, 5, 8, 10, 12 and apparently 24, and since the subject matter comprises mythology, the horrors of old age, the foundation of Colophon, doctors (fr. 24) and probably the erotic (fr. 8), it seems safe to assume that *Nanno* must have been the title given to a collection of poems rather than to one long poem. Furthermore, since our sources are not consistent in recording the title of works from which they cite, it is quite possible that most of the remaining fragments of Mimnermus should also be ascribed to *Nanno.*

The sole reference to *Smyrneis* appears in a scholium on Antimachus which cites two verses (fr. 13a). The subject matter is martial and the fragment is usually connected with fr. 13, a statement from Pausanias 9.29.4 that Mimnermus composed a poem on the battle between Smyrna and Gyges in the proem of which he referred to the double genealogy of the Muses. The existence of a proem together with the likelihood that direct speech preceded fr. 13a suggests that *Smyrneis* was a poem of considerable length. Some assign frr. 9 and 14 to the same poem, but Allen 23 n. 11 treats both of these as "hortatory rather than narratives." Fr. 14 does indeed seem to be hortatory, but fr. 9 need not be and it is possible that *Smyrneis* contained both narrative and exhortation. Whether *Smyrneis* was a totally separate poem or the title of a poem within the collection which in its entirety was called *Nanno* is uncertain.

The prologue to Callimachus' *Aetia* contains an extremely controversial reference to Mimnermus. With Pfeiffer's text vv. 11-12 read as follows:

> τοῖν δὲ] δυοῖν Μίμνερμος ὅτι γλυκύς, αἱ κατὰ λεπτόν
> ......] ἡ μεγάλη δ' οὐκ ἐδίδαξε γυνή.

The lacuna in v. 12 is commonly supplemented with ῥήσιες, but Allen, who in an appendix (pp. 146-56) provides a good account of the many interpretations offered, suggests κῶραί γ'.[1] In his view "the slender maidens" are Mimnermus' short poems and "the big

[1] The Doric form, however, seems unlikely in the *Aetia.*

woman" his *Smyrneis*. Whatever the correct supplement is, a contrast between short poems of Mimnermus and a long one of his is probable, although this need not imply that *Smyrneis* was long enough to fill an entire book. If, as is probable, most of Mimnermus' poems were sung at symposia, they would have been short, and if *Smyrneis* contained a few hundred lines, that would have provided a sufficient contrast for Callimachus' purpose.[2]

The significance of the title *Nanno* is uncertain. Presumably Mimnermus referred to a woman of that name in his poetry and this prompted the Alexandrians to use her name as a title. According to Athenaeus 13.597a she was Mimnermus' pipe-player (αὐλητρίς), and Hermesianax (fr. 7.35-37 Powell) and Posidippus (*Anth. Pal.* 12.168. 1-2) speak of Mimnermus' love for her. Allen 18 provides evidence for the view that she may have been Lydian.

Allen 26-29 examines the arguments adduced in support of the claim that Mimnermus also wrote iambic poetry and rightly concludes that "there is not the slightest hint in the ancient reports on his work that Mimnermus wrote iambic verse, and not a single iamb can be claimed for him" (p. 29).

Propertius and some Hellenistic authors view Mimnermus as a love-poet. Propertius 1.9.11-12, for example, states:

plus in amore valet Mimnermi versus Homero:
carmina mansuetus lenia quaerit Amor.

The remains, however, are not noticeably erotic. Only fr. 1 has much to say about love and even here the emphasis is on "painful old age" (ὀδυνηρὸν ... γῆρας) which brings an end to the erotic pleasures of youth.[3] In fact the horrors of old age are the dominant theme of frr. 1-5. It is possible that the poem to which frr. 11-11a belong included the love-story of Jason and Medea, but this is far from a necessary assumption. These verses may simply have illustrated the need for divine assistance in accomplishing difficult exploits, and apart from *Smyrneis* there is no evidence that any of Mimnermus' poems would have been long enough to include much of a myth as multi-faceted as that of the Argonauts. If frr. 1

[2] But it was probably not so much the length as the quality of the two types of Mimnermus' poetry that Callimachus is contrasting. See A. Cameron, *Callimachus and His Critics* (Princeton 1995) 307-338.

[3] On the relationship between old age and the erotic in Mimnermus see the excellent treatment by T.M. Falkner, *The Poetics of Old Age in Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy* (Norman 1995) 128-39.

and 2 are complete poems, as some postulate, their length may have been typical. As was mentioned above, the symposium is the likeliest occasion for the singing of Mimnermus' poetry and that precludes poems of much greater length than frr. 1 and 2.

If we exclude the elegiac remains of Archilochus, none of the early elegists can match Mimnermus for effective use of language. There is little or no padding and it is easy to see why his graceful verses made such an impression on Hellenistic poets.

Bibliography

All the necessary bibliography can be found in A. Allen, *The Fragments of Mimnermus. Text and Commentary* (Stuttgart 1993) and in *Lustrum* 33 (1991) 152-63.

SOLON

Solon is much more famous as a lawgiver than as a poet, but it is only the latter that will be emphasized here, except in so far as historical details need be introduced in order to understand his poetry.

Date

Although neither the date of his birth nor of his death can be fixed with certainty, the year 594/93 is widely accepted as the date of his archonship. The *Suda* gives his *floruit* as the 47th Olympiad (592-89), but adds that according to some it was the 56th (556-53). The former is close to the date of his archonship and the latter is manifestly wrong. Plutarch (*Solon* 32.3) cites two authorities for the date of his death, the one (Heraclides) claiming that he lived a considerable length of time after Pisistratus became tyrant (560), the other (Phanias) that he survived the beginning of the tyranny by less than two years. Diogenes Laertius (1.61) states that he died at the age of eighty. It is probable, therefore, that he was born c. 640 or shortly after.

Poetry

Except for the Theognidean corpus, much of which is of doubtful authenticity, we have more of Solon's poetry than we have for any other elegist of the archaic period. There are extant 287 elegiac verses and in addition there are 42 iambic trimeters and 20 trochaic tetrameters. Fr. 13 is also the longest elegiac poem (76 verses) we have before Hellenistic times. According to the *Suda* Solon composed ποίημα δι' ἐλεγείων ὃ Σαλαμὶς ἐπιγράφεται· ὑποθήκας δι' ἐλεγείας· καὶ ἄλλα. Diogenes Laertius (1.61) is more explicit, attributing to him δημηγορίας καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὑποθήκας, ἐλεγεῖα· καὶ τὰ περὶ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας ... καὶ ἰάμβους καὶ ἐπῳδούς. Nothing is known of his epodes and his trochaic tetrameters are probably included in the word ἰάμβους. Diogenes gives

5000 verses as the total of Solon's elegiac output, a number deemed excessive by many. Since several of Solon's fragments were included in the Theognidean corpus, it is possible that Diogenes was referring to a gnomological collection which contained enough of Solon's poetry for the whole collection to be assigned to him. It is unclear how Diogenes distinguished between "public speeches" (δημηγορίας) and poems on the Athenian constitution. Both presumably indicated poems on political conditions in Athens and on Solon's reforms. The term ὑποθῆκαι ("precepts") is used of many of the early elegists and suits a poem such as the long fr. 13 which begins with a self-address (cf. Diogenes' addition of εἰς ἑαυτόν). Finally, both the *Suda* and Diogenes mention a poem on Salamis, a poem which Plutarch (*Solon* 8.3) tells us contained 100 lines, but which is now preserved in only three short fragments totalling eight verses (frr. 1-3). Much of the background to the poem is suspect,[1] but in any event Athens was successful in capturing Salamis from the Megarians and Solon's poem (which Plutarch describes as χαριέντως πάνυ πεποιημένον) seems to have been instrumental in arousing the Athenians to a renewed effort.

Some of Solon's fragments were clearly composed after his reforms, whereas others are more plausibly assigned to an earlier period and others again to the time of Pisistratus, hence to the last years of his life. According to the sources which cite frr. 9-11, these verses allude to Pisistratus and the contents support this. Solon blames the populace itself for foolishly supporting a tyrant, called a μόναρχος in fr. 9.3 and an ἀλώπηξ and αἱμύλος ἀνήρ in fr. 11, and hence falling into slavery (δουλοσύνη). To the middle period, after his archonship, belong such fragments as 5, 32, 34, 36 and 37. In these he defends his reforms, asserting that he did what he set out to do, that he was right to adopt a middle course[2] between the rich, who felt that he had gone too far, and the poor, who felt that he had not gone far enough, and in one of these fragments (36) he gives some explicit details of what he accomplished.

It seems plausible that we should assign to the period before his archonship a fragment (4) which at 39 verses is the second longest of his remains and which except for three, probably short, lacunae may well be complete. Because of the praise of the personified

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[1] See Podlecki, *Early Gr. Poets* 122-24, and E. Stehle, *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece* (Princeton 1997) 61-63.

[2] In some sources the Delphic saying μηδὲν ἄγαν is attributed to Solon.

Eunomia in the last eight verses modern critics often give that as the poem's title, although this is based on no ancient authority. In fact, Solon devotes most of his attention to Eunomia's opposite, Dysnomia, who is deemed responsible for the κακὰ πλεῖστα besetting Athens.[3] These "evils" are defined as greed, the injustice of the city's leading men, the slavery of the poor, and as a prelude to civil war. Fr. 4 is an example of Solon's poetry at its best, with effective use of personification, imagery, anaphora and chiasmus.

Fr. 13 is Solon's longest and also his most discussed. Much of the discussion arises from the poem's discursiveness, its somewhat incoherent train of thought, and the lack of an obvious central theme. Some have therefore argued for the presence of one or more interpolations, but such an approach is unjustified. After an opening invocation of the Muses in which he prays for prosperity and a good reputation (vv. 1-6) he moves to the subject of wealth, especially the unjust acquisition of wealth and the consequent punishment sent by Zeus sooner or later (vv. 7-32). Because divine punishment does not always follow promptly men foolishly rely on empty hopes and the next section (vv. 33-70) illustrates man's inadequacies and ignorance compared with the omnipotence and omniscience of the gods. Although the subject of wealth is not made explicit in much of this section, it is what underlies Solon's account of the various ways in which men seek to gain profit. A final section (vv. 71-76), with a now explicit condemnation of greed, rounds off the poem. It seems clear that Solon's primary theme is wealth, but it must be admitted that the poem rambles at times and that transitions are not always smooth. The poem leaves us with the impression that Solon has not thought out fully what he wishes to say before he says it. But in spite of structural defects the language and imagery are sometimes quite effective. Although we can assume that the poem was prompted by the greed and injustice in Athens which formed the subject of some of his explicitly political poems, we see here a more reflective and philosophical Solon than we tend to see elsewhere.

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[3] On what is meant by Eunomia and the relationship of Solon's personification to Hesiod's, see M. Ostwald, *Nomos and the Beginnings of Athenian Democracy* (Oxford 1969) 62-69. Eunomia and Dysnomia "are 'poetic persons' which symbolize, respectively, the orderly and disorderly state of affairs in the city" (p. 66).

Among the fragments which have nothing to do with unsettled conditions in Athens we find some whose concern is with the erotic (frr. 25-26), with his travels (frr. 19, 28), with commestibles (frr. 38, 40), and a *tour de force* on the ten heptads that constitute a life-span of seventy years (fr. 27).[4] Although the latter is of some value for Solon's concept of the physical and intellectual aspects of a man's life, it is hard to disagree with those who disparage the poetic quality of these verses.[5]

I began by saying that Solon is much more famous as a law-giver than as a poet, and I think it can be said that his undoubted importance as a historical figure and the political nature of much of his poetry, combined with the problems presented by fr. 13, have contributed to an undeservedly low opinion of him as a poet. Often too his verses have been treated simply as historical sources, with little account taken of their poetic quality. It would certainly be unjustified to include him among poets of the first rank, but it is more unjustified to denigrate or ignore his poetic output.

Bibliography

See *Lustrum* 33 (1991) 163-85, I. M. Linforth, *Solon the Athenian* (Berkeley 1919), and E. K. Anhalt, *Solon the Singer: Politics and Poetics* (Lanham 1993). Anhalt's book is an analysis, with translation, of frr. 4, 13 and 36, with emphasis on Solon's "poetry in the context of archaic ethical and political thought." Many other fragments are also discussed more briefly.

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[4] On Solon's reply to Mimnermus see pp. 108-109.

[5] For a valiant effort to appreciate the full significance of fr. 27 see Falkner (n. 3 on Mimnermus) 153-68.

THEOGNIS

Since Welcker's edition of Theognis in 1826 there has been controversy over the nature and formation of the collection of verses which the MSS ascribe to Theognis. The controversy extends also to the poet's homeland and especially his date. But before these questions can be discussed, a few facts should be given.

Apart from Homer, Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns, the elegies of Theognis represent the earliest poetry to have been preserved in MSS of their own rather than in scraps of papyrus or in the MSS of other authors. The corpus is divided into two books, the first containing vv. 1-1220, the second 1231-1389. In between have been traditionally inserted three couplets ascribed by Stobaeus to Theognis and one by Athenaeus, none of which appears in the MSS. Many of the verses in the corpus have also been preserved by a large number of authors beginning with Plato.[1] In addition, a few verses have turned up in papyri (vv. 254-78, 917-33), both very mutilated, in two ostraca (vv. 25-26, 434-38), and in an inscription (vv. 245-46). Within the corpus are verses which other sources assign to different authors, vv. 153-54, 227-32, 315-18, 585-90, 719-28 and 1253-54 to Solon, 795-96 and 1020-22 to Mimnermus, and 1003-6 to Tyrtaeus. Aristotle cites vv. 255-56 as a Δηλιακὸν ἐπίγραμμα and v. 472 as Euenus. Because this verse occurs in one of three segments addressed to Simonides, it is possible that all these (vv. 467-96, 667-82 and 1341-50 or 1345-50) belong to Euenus.[2] The corpus also contains a large number of repeated verses, usually with a slight variation. Finally, there are 76 occurrences of the vocative Κύρνε (three of which are variant readings) and nine of Πολυπαΐδη, normally treated as Cyrnus' patronymic.

Origin of the Corpus

It is not possible to give a detailed account of the many theories that have been proposed. These range from the extremes of treating

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[1] For surveys of the major authors see Harrison 65-99 and Hudson-Williams 82-103.

[2] See C.M. Bowra, "Simonides in the Theognidea," *CR* 48 (1934) 2-4, and Vetta 121-23.

almost all the corpus as spurious to accepting almost all as genuine, but the majority fall somewhere in between.[3] There is disagreement on where some of the segments begin and on which segments are complete poems. Because of the difficulty in detecting a logical train of thought throughout the corpus and because of the repeated verses, many have postulated some form of composite origin. Attempts have been made on metrical or linguistic grounds to distinguish various components, but these have met with little success.[4] The corpus as a whole shows little variation in terms of language, metre, style and indeed of outlook. The most unified section is clearly vv. 19-254.[5] It contains what has the appearance of a prologue (vv. 19 ff.; there is disagreement on where the segment ends) and an epilogue (vv. 237-54), and the intervening segments are much less disjointed than elsewhere. Although we should not assume that Theognis himself was responsible for the organization of vv. 19-254, it is possible that these verses represent in large part the earliest collection of his poetry. It may be significant that 37 of the 85 occurrences of Κύρνε (including variants) or Πολυπαΐδη are in this section. The presence of these vocatives has been treated by various scholars as indicating the genuine work of Theognis, although we should recognize that anyone wishing to attribute his own or anonymus verses to Theognis could easily have inserted either vocative. After v. 254 the corpus is less cohesive and in the latter part of Book I repeated verses become much commoner. How we are to explain these repetitions and, since there are often slight variations, how we are to determine which is earlier, are questions which do not admit of ready answers.

West's solution[6] is to argue for an anthology of elegiac poetry, completed in the 3rd century B.C. and comprising verses of Theognis and of other poets. Then two selections were made from this anthology, the first in the 2nd century B.C. and containing vv. 255-1022, the second in the 1st century B.C. and containing vv.

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[3] There have been several surveys of scholarship on the formation of the corpus. Among these are Harrison 100-210, Hudson-Williams 12-78, Highbarger 170-84 and Carrière 14-37. The most negative approach to authenticity is perhaps that of Kroll, while the major unitarians are Harrison, Highbarger, Dornseiff, Van der Valk and Young.

[4] Metre and language as criteria for authenticity are discussed by Hudson-Williams 35-43. See also n. 13 below.

[5] The most detailed defence of the unity and authenticity of vv. 19-254 is by Hasler.

[6] See West, *Studies* 40-59.

1023-1220. This second selection resulted in the repeated verses. The assumption of one or more anthologies has been made by other scholars. Peretti, for example, argues that after the 4th century B.C. Theognis' elegies were incorporated into a large collection of gnomic poetry and that in the 6th or 9th century A.D. our present corpus was selected from this collection by some anthologist who ascribed it to Theognis. Carrière's thesis, as summarized by Woodbury, is as follows: "The first collection (which had already suffered interpolations and additions) was formed in Athens in the fifth century but fell into disuse about the beginning of our era. It was then replaced by an anthology of elegiac poetry, to which the name Theognis was given, very likely because of the prominence of his poems in it. Finally, the two books were conflated by a Byzantine editor, probably in the ninth century, and not long afterwards a reviser excised, chiefly from the latter part of the new edition, all poems of a markedly erotic nature and collected them in a separate appendix (which became Book II), the gaps being filled by the repetitions."

At this point it might be appropriate to comment on Book II.[7] It is generally assumed that at a late date the pederastic segments were removed from the corpus and assembled under the heading "Book II." That they were not originally segregated is clear from the entry on Theognis in the *Suda*, a lexicon compiled in the second half of the 10th century. Here we find the statement that ἐν μέσῳ τούτων παρεσπαρμέναι μιαρίαι καὶ παιδικοὶ ἔρωτες καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ὁ ἐνάρετος ἀποστρέφεται βίος, "in the midst of these exhortations are scattered foul and pederastic poems and other verses on which the virtuous life turns its back." But since MS A of Theognis, which is somewhat earlier than the *Suda*, divides the corpus into two books, it is evident that the compiler of the *Suda* has inadvertently included a statement from his source which was no longer true. It is likely that some Christian writer is the source of the statement and West dates the segregation to the period 830-930. Not all the segments in Book II are obviously pederastic, Cyrnus is addressed only once, there are a few repetitions from Book I, there is one segment that has been ascribed to Solon and one that may be the work of Euenus, and none of our sources cites from the book. This latter point is probably of no significance in terms of dating the

[7] There is an excellent introduction to and commentary on Book II by Vetta. The best commentary on Book I is by van Groningen.

contents, since those who cite from Book I do so primarily for ethical reasons. Most of the verses in Book II are typical of sympotic poetry[8] and may have formed a separate collection (or part of one) which at some stage was inserted into the corpus. To what extent it represents the work of Theognis or of Megarian society is unknown, but it contains nothing to distinguish itself from what we know of such poetry in Athens of the 6th and 5th centuries and we have no reason to assume that Megara was different in this respect.

The corpus is prefaced with four invocations (vv. 1-18), two to Apollo, one to Artemis, and one to the Muses and Charites. Presumably each at one time served as the proem to a collection of elegiac poetry, just as the four invocations which preface the collection of Attic scolia preserved by Athenaeus 15.694c-695f (frr. 884-908 *PMG*) may once have introduced separate collections. West treats the invocation to Artemis as the work of Theognis, but I see no strong evidence for this.

In conclusion, there is no agreement on how the corpus as a whole was formed or on what parts are genuine, but there seems little doubt that some kind of composite origin is to be assumed. We do know from P. Oxy. 2380 that in the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. vv. 254-78 were preserved in the same order as in our corpus, but this is a relatively small section and too much weight should not be attached to it. If we treat as genuine those portions which contain addresses to Cyrnus or Polypaides, this does not preclude other portions from being genuine also. Some segments lack an appropriate beginning and are presumably excerpts from longer poems which could have contained such addresses, nor need we assume that every poem of Theognis was explicitly addressed to Cyrnus.[9]

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[8] On the symposium as the occasion for the elegies of Book II see Vetta XXVII-XXXVII. It is in fact likely that most of the poems in the corpus were sung at symposia. See Levine in Figueira & Nagy 176-96, and on the symposium in general see n. 1 on p. 92.

[9] Nagy, in Figueira & Nagy 33-34, considers it "helpful to advance the theory that the figure of Theognis represents a cumulative synthesis of Megarian poetic traditions. The major advantage of this theory is that the poetry of Theognis may then be appreciated as a skillful and effective—maybe even beautiful—dramatization of Megara through the ages. The major disadvantage, however, is that the notion of a historical Theognis may have to be abandoned." It is highly probable that the corpus contains Megarian poetry from periods before and/or after Theognis' lifetime, but I fail to see why we must therefore abandon "the notion of a historical Theognis."

Homeland of Theognis

The ancient sources disagree on whether Theognis came from Nisaean Megara at the isthmus of Corinth or its colony in Sicily, Hyblaean Megara. Those sources which give the latter are probably dependent on a controversial passage in Plato *Laws* 1.630a. After having just stated that Tyrtaeus was an Athenian but became a Spartan citizen (Τυρταῖον, τὸν φύσει μὲν Ἀθηναῖον, τῶνδε δὲ πολίτην γενόμενον), Plato goes on to say: ποιητὴν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρ' ἔχομεν, Θέογνιν, πολίτην τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρέων. The parallelism suggests that Theognis, like Tyrtaeus, was born in one place but became a citizen of another. This is essentially the view of the scholiast and seems to be a legitimate interpretation.[10] Whether Plato is recording the truth is another matter. If Theognis was born in Nisaean Megara, there would be nothing surprising in his becoming a citizen of the colony, but it may be thought surprising that the corpus provides little or no support for this. In vv. 773-88 the speaker states that he visited Sicily, Euboea and Sparta, but concludes with the remark that no place is dearer than one's homeland. Early in this poem mention is made of Alcathous, eponym of the acropolis of Nisaean Megara, and it is clear from this that Nisaean Megara is the speaker's homeland. The speaker, however, may not be Theognis since the verses seem to allude to the Persian invasion of 490 or 480 and thus are too late to be assigned to Theognis. In West's view they should be assigned to an "Anonymus Megarensis." The corpus provides little direct evidence for either Megara, but Theognis' reference to himself as simply "the Megarian" (v. 23) suggests that he meant the mother city and that is the homeland preferred by most critics.

Date and Life of Theognis

When we try to date Theognis we are faced with the problem of authenticity and also with the difficulty in assessing historical or political allusions. Our evidence for political conditions in Megara during the archaic period is far from abundant and is often vaguely stated.[11] One chronological detail, however, is reasonably

[10] On the passage in Plato see Figueira in Figueira & Nagy 123-28.

[11] On the history of Megara in the archaic period see Oost and Figueira

secure. We know from Thucydides (1.126.3-11) that Theagenes, tyrant of Megara, assisted his son-in-law, Cylon, in the latter's attempt to become tyrant of Athens. Cylon's attempted coup can be dated to some year in the 630s or 620s. Theagenes is the only recorded tyrant of Megara and since Aristotle (*Pol.* 1315b11-39) does not include him among those who ruled for a considerable period of time, it is generally assumed that his rule lasted for fewer than 18 years. According to Plutarch (*Mor.* 295c-d) the downfall of Theagenes was followed by a moderate government for a short time, presumably an oligarchy, and then a "democracy" characterized by mob violence. Aristotle (*Pol.* 1304b35-39) adds that the demagogues drove the oligarchs into exile, but that they returned, overthrew the democracy, and set up an oligarchy. Although the Theognidean corpus seems to reflect this turmoil, it is striking that Theognis is never cited as evidence for it by any ancient source.

The biographical information for Theognis is extremely meager.[12] In contrast to most of the other early poets, we are told nothing about his family or about any personal details of his life. Since ancient biography is often based on (usually false) deductions from the poetic remains, this lack of personal information may reflect an uncertainty about what was Theognis' genuine work. In any event, we are told only of his date. The *Suda* assigns him to the 59th Olympiad. Since chronographers usually give the *floruit* and since this is assigned to roughly the individual's 40th year, we can assume that our sources dated Theognis' birth to c. 580-570. When we try to reconcile this with certain segments of the corpus, problems arise. The most notorious one is presented by vv. 757-64 and especially 773-82. These verses speak of the Persian menace and must surely refer to the invasion of Darius in 490 or more probably Xerxes in 480/79 rather than, as some argue, to Cyrus' conquest of Ionia c. 545. Thus, either Theognis lived to an extreme old age or these verses are the work of some other Megarian poet, the view that is now generally, and I think rightly, held.

In vv. 39-40 the fear is expressed in a segment addressed to Cyrnus that a εὐθυντήρ, no doubt a tyrant, may arise. If Theognis is the author and he is alluding to Theagenes, the *Suda*'s date for the

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& Nagy, especially sections 1, 5, 6 and the "Chronological Table" on pp. 261-303.

[12] The testimonia for Theognis, most of which tell us nothing about his life, are collected and translated by Garzya 46-62.

poet is obviously wrong, but I see no reason why the previous existence of a tyrant might not arouse the fear of a second one. West argues that Theognis' "poetic and political career began in the 630s at the latest," but this early dating has met with little support[13] and I find no compelling reason to disagree with the *Suda*'s dating, even though we cannot determine the evidence on which it was made.

There are several references in the corpus to exile and we are told by Aristotle (*Pol.* 1304b) of demagogues driving the oligarchs into exile after the moderate government which followed the overthrow of Theagenes. It is quite possible, therefore, that Theognis was one of those exiled. Vv. 543-46, if taken literally, indicate that Theognis had the function of a judge and there seems little doubt that he belonged to the upper level of society. He bemoans the loss of class distinction and the lack of trust among friends, all of which suggests that even under an oligarchic government the old aristocratic values were being eroded. The impression we get is of a figure who sees himself as one of a dying breed.

Poetry

The only ancient source for Theognis' writings is a garbled entry under the poet's name in the *Suda*, parts of which have been cited earlier:

Θέογνις Μεγαρεύς, τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγάρων, γεγονὼς ἐν τῇ νθʹ ὀλυμπιάδι (544/41). ἔγραψεν ἐλεγείαν εἰς τοὺς σωθέντας τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, γνώμας δι' ἐλεγείας εἰς ἔπη ͵βώ (2800), καὶ πρὸς Κύρ<ν>ον τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐρώμενον γνωμολογίαν δι' ἐλεγείων, καὶ ἑτέρας ὑποθήκας παραινετικάς, τὰ πάντα ἐπικῶς. ὅτι μὲν παραινέσεις ἔγραψε Θέογνις. ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων παρεσπαρμέναι μιαρίαι καὶ παιδικοὶ ἔρωτες καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ὁ ἐνάρετος ἀποστρέφεται βίος.

Some see here a reference to four separate works, an elegy on those who survived the Syracusan siege, gnomic verses totalling 2800, an elegiac gnomology to Cyrnus, and other hortatory

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[13] See West, *Studies* 65-71. Friis Johansen (II) points out the weaknesses in West's arguments and maintains that on linguistic grounds vv. 19-38 at least should not be dated earlier than c. 550. Linguistic evidence for the corpus as a whole is examined on pp. 6-14, with pp. 11-14 concentrating on those verses which reveal deviations from passages in Tyrtaeus, Solon, and Mimnermus.

precepts, all in the epic language. Others, treating the repeated καί as meaning "both ... and," consider the third and fourth works as subdivisions of the second, and West excises the reference to 2800 gnomic elegies. In any event, everything points to gnomic poetry apart from the first item. Nothing is known about a poem on the siege and it has been plausibly suggested that the author may be the second Theognis whom the *Suda* goes on to mention, an Athenian tragic poet identified by some with the Theognis who was one of the thirty tyrants. The total of 2800 verses is roughly double the number in our corpus and some consider it simply "a mistake in the reckoning occasioned by the addition of two totals found in different sources."[14] The sentence beginning with ὅτι cannot be construed as it stands and West (*IEG* I^2 p. 172) supplies χρήσιμος at the end, "Theognis is useful because ...."

This is not the place to provide a literary or stylistic analysis of the many segments that make up the corpus,[15] but there is one segment that calls for comment. Beginning at v. 19 we have what gives the appearance of a prologue. Where it ends is unclear. Some treat vv. 19-38 as a unit, while others consider vv. 19-30 and 31-38 or 19-26 and 27-38 as separate segments, but although a good case can be made for extending the poem to v. 38,[16] for our purpose it is enough to concentrate on vv. 19-30.

Κύρνε, σοφιζομένῳ μὲν ἐμοὶ σφρηγὶς ἐπικείσθω
   τοῖσδ' ἔπεσιν· λήσει δ' οὔποτε κλεπτόμενα
οὐδέ τις ἀλλάξει κάκιον τοὐσθλοῦ παρεόντος,
   ὧδε δὲ πᾶς τις ἐρεῖ· "Θεύγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη
τοῦ Μεγαρέως· πάντας δὲ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὀνομαστός·"
   ἀστοῖσιν δ' οὔπω πᾶσιν ἁδεῖν δύναμαι.
οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν Πολυπαΐδη· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς
   οὔθ' ὕων πάντεσσ' ἁνδάνει οὔτ' ἀνέχων.
σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ εὖ φρονέων ὑποθήσομαι, οἷάπερ αὐτὸς
   Κύρν' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν ἔμαθον.
πέπνυσο, μηδ' αἰσχροῖσιν ἐπ' ἔργμασιν μηδ' ἀδίκοισιν
   τιμὰς μηδ' ἀρετὰς ἕλκεο μηδ' ἄφενος.

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[14] Hudson-Williams 101.
[15] Carrière 141-98 provides an "étude littéraire."
[16] See in particular Friis Johansen (I).

These verses seem to contain two main themes, a contrast between what Theognis claims for himself (μὲν ἐμοί) and what he prescribes for Cyrnus (σοὶ δ'). If Theognis has both themes in mind at the beginning, it is preferable to see in σοφιζομένῳ a reference not only to his skill as a poet but also to his wisdom as an adviser of Cyrnus. But what is the "seal" that is to be placed on his poetry? Much ink has been spilled in an attempt to explain it and there is still little consensus. However we interpret it, it is clear from what follows that the seal has two functions, first to provide protection against theft (by which is probably meant what we call plagiarism) and then against some form of exchange.[17] As a result everyone will recognize the verses as Theognis'. With this in mind let us review the main explanations of the seal.[18]

1. The seal is Cyrnus' name. This is based on the assumption that every poem contained an address to him, an assumption which is supported by nothing except the frequency with which his name appears in the corpus. Furthermore, Theognis would be naive to regard this as any protection, since it could be easily inserted or deleted.

2. The seal is the poet's name (v. 22). In support of this critics compare Hesiod's inclusion of his name in *Theogony* 22, Alcman's in frr. 17, 39 and 95b, and such expressions as καὶ τόδε Δημοδόκου, καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω and μνῆμα τόδ' Ἱππάρχου.[19] But Hesiod and Alcman do not insert their names in order to provide any kind of protection and the other expressions seem to have introduced short, pithy sayings. They point to a pride of authorship, not to protection, and the name was repeated, not given only once. Some expand upon the name and assume that Theognis is presenting Cyrnus with an official copy of his poetry. He inserts his name so that Cyrnus can compare this copy with any fraudulent verses that might be attributed to Theognis.[20] But there is no suggestion in these lines that Theognis is making a presentation to Cyrnus.

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[17] On the possible meanings of ἀλλάξει (v. 21) see Friis Johansen (I) 14-15.

[18] The most recent discussions of the seal are by Ford in Figueira & Nagy 82-95, Cerri, and Pratt. See also Friis Johansen's articles.

[19] Ford (above, n. 18) makes much of these expressions, especially the last, and argues that "the seal of Theognis had as its prime function the codification and authorization of a body of gnomological poetry as representing the accepted standards and values of the *agathoi*. The name of Theognis guarantees not the origin of these *epē* but their homogeneous political character and their aristocratic provenience" (p. 89).

[20] This is the view of Highbarger 191.

3. The seal is Theognis' poetic skill. This explanation seems to impose too narrow a meaning on σοφιζομένῳ and implies a greater pride in his poetic accomplishments than is generally revealed in the corpus.[21] Only one deluded by his own self-esteem would believe that his artistic skill would provide a protection. Some see in the seal a combination of Theognis' name and his assertion of poetic skill.[22]

4. These and other explanations assume that the seal is an image, but occasionally it has been argued that Theognis had in mind a literal seal. Recently Cerri, citing various examples to show the concern about authenticity in a society still largely oral, suggests that Theognis deposited a copy of his poetry (with his name near the beginning) in a temple and placed a seal on it. As the history of the Theognidean question has shown, this ultimately proved ineffective, but the explanation need not therefore be wrong. Cerri similarly explains the seal which Critias (fr. 5) states was placed on the decree which he proposed to secure the return of Alcibiades. When Critias says in v. 3, σφραγὶς δ' ἡμετέρης γλώσσης ἐπὶ τοῖσδεσι κεῖται, he is presumably referring to his own name, and Cerri assumes that Critias' poem together with the decree was affixed with a seal and deposited in the state archives.

Pratt's explanation is somewhat similar, except that she treats the seal as metaphorical rather than literal. Illustrating "the close association between writing and marking with a seal in Greek culture," she argues that "Theognis' seal is not only the presence of his name in a line of poetry but the written form that preserves and protects both the name and the text" (p. 177). In other words, Theognis, aware of the alterations that can occur in a text transmitted orally, sought to preserve the integrity of his verses by committing them to writing.

On balance, a reference to writing, whether the seal be literal or metaphorical, seems preferable.[23] The extent, however, to which

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[21] The chief exception is the so-called epilogue (vv. 237-54) where Cyrnus is said to have undying fame because of poetry in his honour.

[22] See especially Woodbury.

[23] Friis Johansen (II) also argues for a written text, with Theognis' name as the seal, and suggests that we should see the influence of contemporary prose writers. In his Part III, which at the time of writing has not yet been published but which was kindly made available to me by the author, Friis Johansen discusses the nature and extent of the original text and its subsequent history, with additional comments on the seal.

our text represents a faithful copy of the original version by the poet remains problematic. Pratt suggests that Theognis could have included in his written text poetry transmitted orally from an earlier time and that as a result "we may have something more like the corpus as it was established by a historical Theognis than present-day editors of the text, with their fully literate aesthetic standards, have thought possible" (p. 182).

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XENOPHANES

Xenophanes' main claim to fame is as a pre-Socratic philosopher who inveighed against the Homeric and Hesiodic portrayal of the gods, argued for a single, non-anthropomorphic deity, and offered "rational" explanations of various physical phenomena (wind, rain, celestial bodies etc.). For the most part these topics were dealt with in hexameters and will consequently receive little attention in what follows.[1]

Date and Life

In fr. 8 Xenophanes tells us that he spent 67 years wandering about Greece and that 25 years had elapsed prior to this, and in fr. 22 he introduces an interlocutor who asks, "How old were you when the Mede came?" It is generally assumed that the Mede is Harpagus who subjugated Xenophanes' native city Colophon in the late 540s and that this was the date at which the poet began his 67 years of wandering. Diogenes Laertius (9.20) gives the 60th Olympiad (540-37) as Xenophanes' *floruit* and he or his source may have used the arrival of Harpagus in Colophon as the evidence for his dating. It seems therefore that Xenophanes was born c. 565 and died c. 470. He clearly lived for at least 92 years (or 91 by inclusive reckoning) and Censorinus (15.3) states that he lived to be over 100. The poet's death c. 470 would be consistent with the testimony of Timaeus (21 A 8 D-K) that Xenophanes lived in the time of Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse from 478 to 467. A divergent chronology, proposed by Apollodorus, assigns Xenophanes' birth to the 40th Olympiad (620-17) and represents him as living "until the times of Darius and Cyrus" (Darius ascended the throne in 522 and Cyrus died in 529). This chronology, however, has been generally rejected and a detailed explanation of how it may have arisen is provided by Woodbury.[2]

[1] The most recent general study of Xenophanes is by J. H. Lesher, *Xenophanes of Colophon, Fragments: A Text and Translation with a Commentary* (Toronto 1992). There is an adequate bibliography on pp. 235-42. See also *Lustrum* 33 (1991) 215-19.

[2] L. Woodbury, "Apollodorus, Xenophanes, and the Foundation of Massi-

Poetry

According to Diogenes Laertius 9.18-20 Xenophanes' writings consisted of hexameters, elegies, iambi and a poem or poems on the foundation of Colophon and the colonization of Elea in Italy containing 2000 verses.[3]

Diogenes mentions iambi, but it is uncertain what he means by the term. There is no evidence that Xenophanes composed poems consisting entirely of iambic verses, although there is evidence that some of his poetry contained both iambic trimeters and dactylic hexameters (e.g., fr. 14). Perhaps this is what Diogenes had in mind. It is significant that Diogenes speaks not simply of iambi, but of "iambi against Hesiod and Homer" (ἰάμβους καθ' Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ὁμήρου) , and fr. 14 could be placed in this category:

> ἀλλ' οἱ βροτοὶ δοκέουσι γεννᾶσθαι θεούς,
> τὴν σφετέρην δ' ἐσθῆτα ἔχειν φωνήν τε δέμας τε.

> But mortals think that gods are born and have their own clothes, voice and body.

Several sources state that Xenophanes composed a type of poetry called *Silloi* (Σίλλοι), apparently of considerable quantity since fr. 21a is cited from Book 5. The etymology is unclear, but the term is especially associated with Timon of Phlius, a sceptic philosopher and poet who lived in the 3rd century B.C.[4] Timon's *Silloi*, comprising 66 fragments, all in hexameters, are characterized by a derisive and scornful ridicule directed towards rival philosophers. According to Sextus Empiricus (*Pyrrh. hypot.* 1.223-24) Timon frequently praised Xenophanes and actually dedicated his *Silloi* to him. It is uncertain, however, whether Xenophanes himself used the term *Silloi* or whether the title was assigned because Timon viewed him as a model. None of the sources which mention Xenophanes' *Silloi* is earlier than the date of Timon. Timon's hexameters are not interspersed with iambic trimeters, but their ethos is certainly iambic and the same can be said of a number of Xeno-

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lia," *Phoenix* 15 (1961) 134-55. Reprinted in: *Collected Writings* (Atlanta 1991) 96-117.

3 See the section on Elegy (p. 9).

4 See M. Di Marco, *Timone di Fliunte, Silli. Introduzione, edizione critica, traduzione e commento* (Rome 1989).

phanes' hexameters. Perhaps this too has a bearing on Diogenes' ascription of iambi. It is possible that the poems from which Xenophanes' scornful hexameters are cited contained only an occasional iambic verse and that such verses have simply not survived.

When Athenaeus (2.54e) introduces fr. 22 (in hexameters), he gives as its source ἐν Παρῳδίαις.[5] Although there is nothing in these five verses that could be called parody, apart from the use of some Homeric phrases, we do not have the entire poem. If we did, we might be justified in treating Παρῳδίαι as a synonym of Σίλλοι. It is appropriate here to mention the ingenious and attractive suggestion of Bossi[6] that Xenophanes was the author of the *Margites*, a burlesque of Homer in hexameters interspersed with iambic trimeters. Among the reasons adduced by Bossi in support of this is the mention of Colophon, Xenophanes' native city, in fr. 1.1 of the *Margites*. Given Xenophanes' penchant for criticizing Homer and his use of iambic trimeters together with hexameters, one could well imagine his having composed the *Margites*, perhaps even under the pretense that the author was Homer.

Xenophanes' elegiac remains consist of eight fragments totalling 68 verses. The first fragment, presumably lacking at least one couplet at the beginning because of γάρ in v. 1 but probably otherwise complete, contains 24 verses and illustrates the proper conduct at a symposium. As Marcovich states, "the first part of the poem describes the external, physical, preliminary conditions for an ideal symposium, and the second part sets forth ethical and religious precepts for the participants."[7] I have little to add to Marcovich's analysis of the fragment, but two of the points he makes deserve to be emphasized. The first is Xenophanes' rejection of battles fought by the Titans, Giants and Centaurs as fit topics of song at symposia. These are called πλάσμα<τα> τῶν προτέρων, "fictions of men of old," and Xenophanes is doubtless referring to poets such as Homer and Hesiod, poets whom he has criticized

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[5] In general see F. W. Householder, Παρῳδία, *CP* 39 (1944) 1-9, F. J. Lelièvre, "The Basis of Ancient Parody," *G & R* n.s. 1 (1954) 66-81, and the introduction to E. Degani, *Poesia parodica greca* (Bologna 1982) 5-36, with bibliography on pp. 34-36.

[6] F. Bossi, *Studi sul Margite* (Ferrara 1986).

[7] M. Marcovich, "Xenophanes on Drinking-Parties and Olympic Games," *ICS* 3 (1978) 1-26. Reprinted in: *Studies in Greek Poetry*, Illinois Classical Studies, Supplement 1 (1991) 60-84. The quotation is from p. 63 of the latter.

elsewhere for the immoral conduct they ascribed to the gods (cf. frr. 11 and 12). The second point is that such topics, together with songs of civil strife, should be rejected because they contain nothing "useful" (χρηστόν), and as we shall see "usefulness" is an important criterion elsewhere in Xenophanes. Although Xenophanes does not here elaborate on what he means by "useful," it may be assumed from frr. 2 and 3 that the topics he rejects are not useful because they contribute nothing to the welfare of the state or to the lives of its citizens.

Fr. 2, containing 22 verses and possibly a complete poem, is a diatribe against the excessive rewards and honours given to Olympic victors. Here we are reminded of Tyrtaeus' fr. 12 where a reputation for athletic superiority is included among the areas of expertise which are judged inferior to valour in war. Xenophanes' objection, however, is that Olympic victors do not contribute to a city's *eunomia* and that their strength is inferior to his own *sophia.* As Marcovich states, "the message of the whole poem boils down to this: 'Only a useful wisdom (such a one as my own) can bring about good government (on which the well-being of the city depends): no athlete's strength can'."[8] There is no reason, however, to assume that Xenophanes shared Euripides' much more extreme denigration of athletes (fr. 282 N.) and objected to their receiving any fame at all.

The six verses of fr. 3 are a bitter denunciation of the soft life and proud display of wealth evident among the Colophonian aristocracy "while they were free of hateful tyranny" (v. 2). It is unclear whether Xenophanes is referring to the tyranny imposed by Harpagus or to some earlier tyrant, but the former seems more probable. The behaviour of these nobles can be defined as *hybris* and the destruction of Colophon through *hybris* became proverbial (cf. Theognis 1103 f.). It is typical of Xenophanes that the soft life (ἁβροσύνας) he castigates is described as "useless" (ἀνωφελέας). It has been suggested that this fragment formed part of his long *Foundation of Colophon,* but that seems unlikely.

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[8] Marcovich 78.

PERSONAL POETRY

by

Bonnie C. MacLachlan

ALCAEUS[1]

Lesbos in the Archaic Period

From as early as the seventh century we have evidence that the island of Lesbos, situated strategically near the Ionian coast and the headland yielding access to the Hellespont, prospered and afforded a rich cultural milieu for poets. Lesches, generally regarded as the composer of the *Ilias Parva*, lived in Mytilene. Terpander, from Antissa, holds the reputation for developing the citharodic nome and Arion of Methymna was an important figure in the development of the dithyramb. The dating of the *acme* of all three poets is traditionally placed in the seventh century.[2] During this century the Greek emporium at Naucratis in Egypt was established, and Lesbos was invited to be one of the trading partners. From Strabo (17.1.33) we read that Sappho's brother Charaxus traded in wine at Naucratis, and it is likely that references in the poetry of Alcaeus and Sappho to goods from Lydia, Sardis and elsewhere testify to a vigorous trade between Lesbos and cities around the eastern Mediterranean. The superior reputation of Lesbian poets among foreigners is framed in a one-line fragment of Sappho's, words which became proverbial for excellence: πέρροχος ὠς ὄτ' ἄοιδος ὁ Λέσβιος ἀλλοδάποισιν (fr. 106).

During the Archaic period Lesbos and its principal city Mytilene struggled, as did other Greek centres at this time, with the political devolution from monarchy. Hereditary kings descended from the legendary figure Penthilus, bastard son of Orestes, ruled in Mytilene until the late seventh century. The Penthilids then became just one of several powerful family groups competing for political leverage under a succession of tyrants, individuals like Melanchrus and Myrsilus, who figure directly in the poetry of Alcaeus (frr. 70, 129, 331, 332). The ancient chroniclers[3] give us dates

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[1] All references to the fragments of Alcaeus follow the numbering in Voigt's edition, those of the testimonia follow Campbell, *Greek Lyric* I (1982).

[2] Mosshammer, *Chronicle* 226-233, combining evidence from Eusebius and the Parian Marble, fixes the sequence as Lesches-Terpander-Arion. A Lesbian chronicler Phaenias is regarded by Mosshammer to be the source for Eusebius' dating.

[3] The principal sources like Eusebius probably relied on the sequential

for the sequence of political events affecting the lives of Sappho and Alcaeus towards the end of the seventh century. Melanchrus was overthrown in the 42nd Olympiad (612/9) by a group among whom were the brothers of Alcaeus (Diog. Laert. 1.74). Pittacus assisted in this coup, a man who would later become one of the Seven Sages, elected by the people as sole ruler, *aisymnetes* (αἱρέτη τυραννίς, Arist. *Pol.* 1285a31). As a leader he developed a reputation for clemency but was despised by Alcaeus. A few years after the ousting of Melanchrus Pittacus secured his international reputation by defeating the Athenians in a battle for control of the strategic coastal city of Sigeum, just north of Troy. This he did by killing in single combat Phrynon, an Olympic victor (Diog. Laert. 1.74-5). In the same battle of 607/6 Alcaeus fought, but less successfully, for he lost his shield to the Athenians (fr. 401B, cf. Strabo 13.1.38). It would be another 10 years before Pittacus would be elected ruler and could resolve the political instability brought about by the struggle between rival factions (Diod. Sic. 9.11). During this time, Alcaeus went into exile, perhaps as many as three times,[4] on the first occasion because of a failed attempt to overthrow Myrsilus (schol. *ad* fr. 114). The exile of Sappho to Sicily, recorded on the Parian Marble, also happened during this decade. The resolution of the struggles, obtained by the awarding of plenipotentiary powers to Pittacus, was prompted—according to Aristotle (*Pol.* 1285a35)—by the actions of exiles led by Alcaeus and his brother Antimenidas. Alcaeus' anger over this decision of the populace is recorded in his fr. 348, quoted by Aristotle, in which he condemns the city as "gutless and ill-starred." Nonetheless, this Solon-style ruler developed a reputation for clemency: Diogenes Laertius (*Life of Pittacus* 1.75-6) records the tradition that he released Alcaeus with the words "pardon is better than vengeance" and after maintaining control for 10 years resumed private life for another decade before his death in 577/6.

Life of Alcaeus

Eusebius gives Ol. 45.1 (600/599) as a *floruit* for both Sappho and Alcaeus, which would place their births c. 640. We have no

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dating of Apollodorus. See Mosshammer, *Chronicle* 250-251.

[4] See the discussion by Podlecki, *Early Gr. Poets* 72-73.

evidence for the date of Alcaeus' death: his invitation in fr. 50 to pour myrrh over his head which has "suffered much" and over his "hoary chest" suggests that (if the poet is speaking *in propria persona*) he did not die young. His aristocratic lineage is reflected in his reference to inherited wealth (fr. 130b.5-6) and to his descent from "noble parents" (frr. 6.13-14, 72.13).

We have no undisputed evidence for contact between Alcaeus and Sappho. Fr. 384 has been taken to represent an address from Alcaeus to Sappho, but the question of whether the fragment contains the vocative of Sappho's name has been disputed.[5] Aristotle's reference to a poetic exchange between them over shameful speech (Sappho, fr. 137) is probably not to be taken seriously. The vase-painting which depicts them conversing together (Munich, inv. 2416) could indicate no more than a conventional literary connection. In fact, their audiences were likely segregated sufficiently that there may have been little personal interchange.

Poetry

Aristotle called Alcaeus' fr. 348 one of the poet's *scolia*, songs composed for the symposium. Lesbian Terpander, at least two generations earlier than Alcaeus, is credited with having developed the *scolion* (Pind. fr. 125 M), suggesting that this occasional poetry was well established when Alcaeus began his poetic career. By the 5th century *scolia* were being recorded and collected in Athens into editions, presumably for broad circulation at symposia (Athen. 15.694a-c, where he makes it clear that songs of Alcaeus were included in these editions). The majority of these *scolia* differ from the poems of Alcaeus, however. They reflect the diffuse nature of their audience, frequently containing reflections of a generic sort about life, such as those found in the elegies of the Theognidean corpus. There is an immediacy about the songs of Alcaeus, on the other hand, where specific individuals and circumstances are named and emotions are aroused by a single event. It is clear that his partisan friends, his ἑταῖροι, among whom ties of loyalty were strong and passions ran high, were the intended audience for

[5] Voigt prefers (μελλιχόμειδες) ἄπφοι to (μελλιχόμειδε) Σάπφοι retained by Lobel and Page (Alc. fr. Z 61). For a discussion see Liberman 291-298.

many of Alcaeus' verses. His poetic exhortations to drink, such as his invitation to get drunk as a toast to the death of Myrsilus (fr. 332), suggest that the forum for many of his compositions was the symposium, the social setting to which he refers directly in fr. 368.[6] But was this the only setting, was the *hetairia* the only audience for his poetry?

A strong case has been made recently that without his *hetairia* there would have been no lyric poet Alcaeus.[7] The *hetairia* doubtless functioned as the principal audience for his political poems, dubbed by Strabo (13.617) *stasiotika*, partisan songs which played a rôle in strengthening alliances and fomenting dissent among the citizens of Mytilene. For these compatriots Alcaeus presented scenes of danger, or the perils and loneliness of exile. Other songs reflect their convivial moments together. His audience provided not only a forum for the expresssion of shared hostility to political foes and for exhortation to action, but also for erotic sentiments or delicate reflections on the beauty of nature.

It is also possible that Alcaeus composed for a broader public. He produced hymns, similar in style to the Homeric Hymns. While we possess almost nothing of the original form of his hymns, we have some idea of their content through quotations and prose summaries. These could have been heard at local religious festivals, or perhaps on other occasions when the listeners were drawn from Greek centres beyond Mytilene. They could also have been performed for the *hetairia*, however, either at private festivals[8] or symposia. A song that may have also been performed for a wider audience than the *hetairia* is fr. 10, in which a female laments her misery and shameful destiny, referring to her own timidity and infatuation like that of a doe feeling the mating call of a stag. The *persona* marks this as a clear departure from the style of Alcaeus' other songs in which the voice sounds very much as if it is the poet's own, or his own as representative of a group whose

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[6] For the symposium as a forum for early Greek poetry generally, see above p. 92, n.1.

[7] Rösler 40: "Kurzum: Ohne Hetairie kein Lyriker Alkaios." This statement is preceded by a claim for the exclusivity of his audience: "Die Hetairie – so die Konsequenz – war Voraussetzung und Bestimmungsort der Dichtung des Alkaios; sie allein bildete den konstitutiven Rahmen für ihre Konzeption und Präsentation."

[8] On the possibility that festivals could be private celebrations see above, p. 4, with bibliography in n. 16.

sympathies he shared. Perhaps fr. 10 is a re-working of a popular song, composed for performance at a symposium,[9] but it would have been equally appropriate for a setting in which women were present. It bears some resemblance to Sappho's fr. 102, in which a girl complains to her mother that she cannot continue her weaving because she has fallen in love.[10]

The question of the poetic "I"[11] is a lively one in reading Alcaeus. His exhortations to a group to drink together or to resist tyranny in Mytilene, together with the statements from antiquity testifying to his rôle in local politics, tempt the reader to accept the "I" as autobiographical, not fictional. A parallel can be found, to some extent, in the elegies of Callinus, Tyrtaeus, Solon and Theognis. It is important to remember that exhortation is livelier and more effective with the inclusion of the personal voice,[12] and that while Alcaeus may indeed have been part of the symposiastic activity and the military resistance he summoned, and while he probably knew on a deeply personal level the loneliness of exile which he described (fr. 129), these were shared experiences. His songs would have provoked a resonance in others, accounting in part for their success, and the "I" is to be read also as "we."

Despite the fact that literacy was not unknown by the 6th century, there are no indications that Alcaeus composed with the aid of writing, or that he composed with the written dissemination of his songs in mind.[13] An inscription from Delos dating from the 2nd century B.C. (*Inscr. Délos* 1400.7 = *test.* 10) indicates that there was a collection of Alcaeus' book-rolls in the Andrian treasury

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[9] One could compare this to Archilochus' fr. 19, in which we know from Aristotle that the *persona* is the voice not of the poet but of Charon the carpenter. Certain excerpts from the *Theognidea* were sung in the voice of a female: 257-260, 579-580, 861-864, as was Anacreon's fr. 385. The likelihood is that these were not only composed but performed by and for men. See E. Bowie 16-17.

[10] Page 291-294 makes the comparison, and points out that Horace in *Odes* 3.12 seems to draw on both poems as models.

[11] On this topic see the Introduction above (p. 6), with bibliography in n. 23.

[12] This point is made by Slings 18.

[13] A case for the orality of Alcaeus is made by Rösler 77-90, who argues that the need for the written transmission of epic *via* the guilds of the rhapsodes differed sharply from the local setting for Alcaeus' songs. He also contrasts the situation of Alcaeus with the Theognidean elegies (which he dates no earlier than the mid-6th century) composed with the expectation of a written text.

there. Earlier than this, the poetry of Alcaeus survived presumably in oral form, but by the late 5th century was probably disseminated in books, at least in Athens, where quotations in Attic Comedy attest to a general familiarity with his work. Agathon, in the *Thesmophoriazusae* (vv. 160-162), includes him in his canon of the lyric poets, and earlier in the century the portrait of Alcaeus with Sappho on the Attic kalathos appeared.

The reputation of Alcaeus as an important poet was further secured by the writing of a treatise on his works by Dicaearchus, a pupil of Aristotle (frr. 94-99 Wehrli: see *testt.* 9a, 17). His books were catalogued in Alexandria, but we do not know how many there were or how they were ordered. They were not arranged metrically, for consecutive songs (such as the two hymns which we know came from Book 1, frr. 307a and 308) were in different metres. This suggests that they may have been arranged by type, a hypothesis supported by Strabo's naming of a group of his poems as *stasiotika.* Most of the fragments we possess have come down to us in the form of lacunose papyrus fragments from the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., with the balance derived from short quotations. In the Roman period the reputation of Alcaeus was enhanced by the poetic imitations of Horace, who prides himself in being the first Roman to render this tribute: *hunc ego, non alio dictum prius ore, Latinus/ volgavi fidicen*, *Ep.*1.19.32-33.[14]

Among the metres borrowed by Horace from his lyric predecessors were those named after Sappho and Alcaeus. Alcaeus used these and other Aeolic metrical forms[15] with an ease that suggests they had evolved from an indigenous Lesbian musical culture, perhaps from traditional song-forms.[16] The Sapphic and Alcaic strophes contain three periods: the first two are identical and the third is an expansion of these, in a triadic structure. (They are regularly printed in four lines.)[17] The short compass of these stanzas encouraged narratives or descriptions that were brief and

[14] For Horace's debt to Alcaeus generally, see the articles by Ciresolo and Frank.

[15] On the Aeolic metrical tradition, with its fondness for the iambo-choriambic cola, see West 29-34.

[16] For a discussion of the Lesbian lyric tradition, and how Aeolic metres may have evolved in tandem with epic, see A. M. Bowie 23-46 and Nagy 134-135.

[17] This follows the analysis of West (32-33). The triadic structure is repeated in the form identified with choral lyric, of strophe/antistrophe in responsion and epodic expansion. On the four-line stanzas see below pp. 233–34.

compressed. Scenes or moods could shift dramatically from one frame to the next, and Alcaeus frequently exploited this opportunity for a dramatic juxtaposition of scenes or emotions. (He also compressed contrasting images into two- and four-line stanzas based on glyconic metres like the Greater and Lesser Asclepiads.)

Alcaeus, like Sappho, composed in the Lesbian-Aeolic dialect, with recessive accentuation and no initial aspiration. It occasionally admitted epic (Ionic) forms, and likely took its shape after the Aeolic migrations brought people from the northern mainland into contact with the Ionic east.[18]

Dionysius of Halicarnassus said of Alcaeus' songs that they were "endowed with genius, compressed and pleasant, with intensity" (μεγαλοφυὲς καὶ βραχὺ καὶ ἡδὺ μετὰ δεινότητος, *de Imit.* 421 = *test.* 20). Most readers agree that this genius is reflected in the directness of the emotion, the drama and the graphic descriptions in his verse. Alcaeus' imagination is engaged by vivid scenes drawn from the experiences of a man of action, and fuelled by the emotional intensity of partisan struggles. Like other lyric poets of the Archaic period he draws upon myth, particularly the stories associated with Troy, which may reflect the geographical proximity of Lesbos to Troy but also the political importance for Lesbos of a power base in the area. The mythical narratives of Alcaeus invariably reflect the energetic clarity of his focus; they bear none of the diffuse resonances of Sappho's. The two poets share, however, precision and sensitivity in their descriptions drawn from the natural world, creating at times uncertainty over to whom certain fragments should be ascribed (for example, *Inc. Auct.* 16, a vignette of Cretan women dancing around an altar, treading gently on soft flowers).

Several of the themes used by Alcaeus are found in the poetry of other lyric poets. Political invective, with some of the same language and imagery used by Alcaeus, is found in the songs of Archilochus before him and Theognis after him. A ready explanation is that these parallels were derived from a common stock of traditional material. But we could also be dealing with material which originated with the earliest poet and was then transmitted

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[18] On features of this dialect and its relation to Ionic forms see A. M. Bowie 30, 68-69, 136-137, Hooker 70-76, Parry 347-351 and Page 327-329. Both Hooker and Bowie argue that Aeolisms in Homer were absorbed during the post-migration development of the dialect. On this see also p. 167, n. 45 below.

orally to others. In an oral culture traders could export and import songs along with their cargo; rhapsodes could carry in their memorized repertoire not only excerpts from epic but lyric songs as well. Common poetic motifs could also arise spontaneously in each case because of a similar set of circumstances:[19] island life would suggest the image of a ship in trouble at sea as an allegory for political vicissitudes;[20] military encounters would provide the occasion for abandoning one's shield. Doubtless, all three sets of circumstances help to explain why we find the "ship-of-state" for example, in Archilochus, Alcaeus, Theognis and others.[21]

The most striking literary parallel to survive in the works of Alcaeus is fr. 347, which bears a close resemblance to Hesiod's call to take refuge in drinking and other soothing pleasures during the Dog-days of summer (*Op.* 582-587).[22] Many of the same images occur in both poems—the flowering artichoke, the buzzing cicada, the intense heat, the lustiness of women and the lassitude of men. At some points the vocabulary is identical or similar: Hesiod's σκόλυμός τ' ἀνθεῖ becomes ἄνθει δὲ σκόλυμος; the effects of the Dog-Star are similarly described—ἐπεὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ γούνατα Σείριος ἄζει in Hesiod and ἐπεὶ < > κεφάλαν καὶ γόνα Σείριος/ ἄσδει in Alcaeus. Hesiod's men are ἀφαυρότατοι, his women μαχλόταται;

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[19] Rösler argues that this was the main explanation for thematic parallels between Alcaeus and others, and gives several examples (pp. 110-112).

[20] That such an image should be taken as allegorical was first recognized by Heraclitus in his work on Homeric allegory. The reference to a foundering ship has not always been taken to represent political turbulence, however. Slater 161-170 reads the ship image and nautical language in ancient poetry as self-referential for symposiasts, representing activity (sometimes raucous) taking place over the wine-cups. E. Bowie 15-18 takes the ship image more literally: Alcaeus and others who incorporated it in their poetry did so to produce an entertaining narrative, recalling for the *hetairoi* experiences they had shared or heard about. He rejects the literal view of Page (p. 185) that such narrative was actually performed on board ship after the storm had passed.

[21] Archilochus (fr. 105) used the image of a storm at sea to represent an impending battle with the Thracians. The ship-of-state which we find first in Alcaeus was picked up by Theognis with the image of a foundering ship representing political trouble (667-682, 857-860). The motif is also found in Aeschylus, *Septem* (v. 1), Sophocles, *OT* (v. 25) and Plato, *Rep.* (6.488B-E). The popularity of the allegorical use of the image is reflected in the statement ἀεὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰς πόλεις πλοίοις παραβάλλουσι (schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 29). On Alcaeus, see below. With Horace's *Odes* 1.14 we are probably looking at imitation and adaptation to the Roman context. See Gentili, *Poetry* 303, n. 127, Nisbet and Hubbard 179-180.

[22] A parallel is also found in 'Hesiod', *Sc.* 393-400.

Alcaeus' men are λέπτοι, his women μιαρώταται.[23] The epic metre of Hesiod has been changed to Asclepiads, an expanded glyconic metre which Alcaeus exploits here to present the images as pairs of short statements or phrases in juxtaposition. (In Hesiod's hexameters the scene is presented in extended complex sentences.) One feels in Alcaeus the cumulative weight of the effects of the Dog-days of summer. Sirius is woven into his paratactic list at the beginning, with the explanatory γάρ of the first verse; the star provides the justification for drinking, and returns in v. 6, possibly indicating that this is the end of the poem. Hesiod's Sirius on the other hand belonged to the agricultural calendar which framed the poet's advice to a farmer; in a pastoral setting Hesiod recommends that the over-heated worker replenish himself with wine but also with cool milk and food. Alcaeus brings the images out of the fields and into the symposium: the poem begins with a peremptory command to drench the lungs with wine.

For Alcaeus many other occasions justified opening the wine-jar: the death of the tyrant Myrsilus (fr. 332), the arrival of evening (frr. 346, 352) or the inevitability of death (fr. 38). As the heat of summer provided the pretext for drinking so did the cold of winter. In fr. 338 the soldier-poet gives the order to begin an assault upon the seasonal storms and ice (κάββαλλε τὸν χείμων', v. 5) with the indoor comforts of a warm fire, wine and other soft accoutrements.[24] Horace adapts the song in his Soracte Ode (*Odes* 1.9), keeping the Alcaic metre, the wintry elements and the wine, but translating the immediacy of the symposiast's campaign against the cold into a literary setting suitable for Epicurean reflections about life.[25]

Horace acknowledged his debt to Alcaeus in *Odes* 1.32 with the observation that his predecessor's songs betrayed a fierceness in war and a familiarity with storms at sea but also with love, where-

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[23] Hesiod's men are "feeble," those of Alcaeus are "thin," "delicate"; Hesiod's women are at their "lustiest," unlike his impotent men, but Alcaeus' women are to be avoided, being "most polluted." On this difference see Burnett 133-134.

[24] The last line of the fragment as found in the manuscripts of Athenaeus (who preserves most of the poem) is unmetrical, and reads μόλθακον ἀμφιγνόφαλλον. Editors have inserted a lacuna and supplied ἀμφι(τίθει), ἀμφι(τιθείς), or ἀμφι(βάλων) before γνόφαλλον. This last word is the Aeolic equivalent of κνέφαλλον, "cushion." The poet is asking that a soft pillow be placed around/under his head.

[25] Nisbet and Hubbard 116-118.

upon he singles out a certain Lycus, who has dark hair and eyes. The symposium was a natural setting for love-matches,[26] but we have none of Alcaeus' songs which mentioned Lycus. No poems survive with a direct reference to a beloved, but there is a commentator's note in the right margin of the papyrus fr. 71, indicating that the former φίλος who in earlier times was invited to "kid and pork" was in fact an ἐρώμενος of Alcaeus. It is possible that the "charming Menon" of fr. 368 is one such beloved, for the poet insists that Menon's presence at the symposium is essential for his own enjoyment. In fr. 362 the poet calls for the sensual accoutrements of love for himself and another, requesting that a necklace of dill and sweet perfume be poured over "our breasts" (στήθεος ἄμμι). The single verse of fr. 366 reflects the importance of truth-telling among comrades, where honesty could be tested over the wine at the symposium.[27] The words of this quotation οἶνος...καὶ ἀλάθεα, are addressed to a φίλε παῖ, a phrase which occurs on vase-paintings and later erotic poetry to indicate ἐρώμενοι.

It is revolutionary, not amatory, fervour which dominates the extant poems of Alcaeus, however. His political passion is reflected in the words of Dionysius of Halicarnassus that it is often the case that if one took away the metre of Alcaeus one would be left with political rhetoric (*de Imit.* 421 = *test.* 20). As Strabo observed, it is difficult to separate the man of action from the poet: not only did he rail against the tyrants Myrsilus, Melanchrus, Pittacus and the Cleonactid clan, says Strabo (13.617), but he himself was not clear of revolutionary activities.

There is virtually nothing left of his raillery against Melanchrus,[28] but Myrsilus appears in a couple of the fragments with the ship-of-state motif. Fr. 6, of which portions of eight Alcaic stanzas survive, is a lively exhortation to comrades to combat a dangerous

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[26] Consider the allusions to such alliances in Plato's *Symposium*. See Bremmer 135-148 and Gentili, *Poetry* 89-104. It is almost certainly the case that we have lost a number of the love-songs composed by Alcaeus and performed for fellow-symposiasts. His amorous reputation seems to have been generally accepted by the Romans: Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* 10.1.63) says of Alcaeus that he *in amores descendit*, and Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* 4.71) comments, *quae de iuvenum amore scribit*!

[27] This sentiment is also found in fr. 333, οἶνος γὰρ ἀνθρώπω δίοπτρον ("wine is the window into a man").

[28] Fr. 331 refers to this tyrant as "worthy of respect" which is probably to be read as ironical, but as Page notes (p. 151), without the context the fragment remains enigmatic.

situation, described as a cresting wave which threatens to swamp a ship. The imagery is vivid and physical: the wave "marches" inexorably (στείχει, v. 2), like an advancing army. The allies are to strengthen the timbers and race to a secure harbour, recalling the bravery of their noble forefathers. In the seventh stanza the word μοναρχία occurs (a reference to "sole ruler" rather than "monarchy" in the strict sense)[29] and there is a marginal gloss in the papyrus referring to Myrsilus. Ancient commentators connected Alcaeus' (self-imposed) exile to Pyrrha with his escape from Myrsilus' punishment for an attempted coup,[30] and it could be the case that these allegorical poems are framed in this way as much for reasons of security as for literary merit. Heraclitus[31] quotes vv. 1-3, and the balance of the poem as we have it is the result of a reconstruction by Lobel of five papyrus fragments. The first verse makes it clear that the wave about to swamp the ship is not the first to threaten the crew of partisans (αὖτε, τὼ προτέρω). If this in fact is a poetic account of the struggles with Myrsilus, it suggests that Alcaeus' political resistance is not in its initial phase, but we cannot identify the occasion with any more precision.[32] With the scale of the danger presented, Alcaeus shifts (in what we can make out of the subsequent strophes) to urging his comrades to take action. A series of first and second person imperatives render the poem paraenetic, not unlike the elegies of Callinus or Tyrtaeus, but by including himself in the actions he recommends, whether securing the ship (φαρξώμεθ', v. 7) or gathering courage by recalling the bravery of ancestors (μὴ καταισχύνωμεν, v. 13), Alcaeus places himself firmly amidst the group whom he addresses. The group needs to take emergency action to survive; the ship represents its collective life. The exhortation moves away from the allegorical when the poet's call is to fellow-aristocrats, not fellow-sailors, in the fourth strophe, and appears to shift directly into the historical situation with the reference to tyranny in the seventh strophe.

Alcaeus situates himself on board another ship in trouble in fr.

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[29] Similarly, in fr. 5 we find the word βασίλευς in a poem which probably refers to Pittacus.

[30] Marginal scholia *ad* fr. 60a and fr. 114 (= *P Oxy.* 1360 fr. 3 + *P Oxy.* 2166 (c) 1A and *P Berol.* 9569 col. II 10-23, ed. Schubart).

[31] *Alleg. Hom.* 5, p. 5 Buffière.

[32] Page 184-185 discounts the political reference for the occasion in favour of an actual storm at sea. This does not account for the apparently historical references in the latter part of the fragment.

208, a poem which Heraclitus also connects with the tyranny of Myrsilus.[33] Heraclitus believed that the poem was inspired by a τυραννικὴ...σύστασις, suggesting that this belonged to the period of a coup by Myrsilus, but we have no way of knowing his source. A commentary on the poem (fr. 305b.8) also mentions Myrsilus, and on its papyrus, in a commentary on another poem (fr. 305a 17-19), is a reference to a "return" of Myrsilus in a boat provided by one Mnemon. It is possible, then, that the occasion for fr. 208 is the threat of a second takeover by the tyrant who makes a comeback after being driven out of Mytilene. From Heraclitus we get vv. 1-9; from a papyrus fragment we get most of what remains of vv. 8-19. The emotional and physical tenor of the scene is given in the first verse: the speaker is "confused by the στάσις of the winds." This word-pun embodies the allegory: it can refer to the "position" of the winds or to the "revolution" of civil war. The explanatory γάρ of v. 2 introduces a series of graphic and technical images of a ship in danger, framed by the metrical periods of the Alcaic metre but linked by enjambement between strophes. The urgency is heightened by alliteration throughout. Once again, the poetic "I" is expanded to include "we": the poet's company is at once the audience and the co-participants. The ship in this case could be the collectivity of partisans, Alcaeus' *hetairia*, but it could also be a broader reference, representing the city itself; in the latter case the poet's voice is delivering a warning to the entire state. This differs from Horace's re-working of the ship-of-state allegory in *Odes* 1.14, which combines these details of the ship's destruction with elements from Alcaeus' fr. 6.[34] But the voice is calling to the ship from the safety of the shore in Horace's poem; the imperatives are in the second, not the first person, and the effect is less intense.

In Horatian style Alcaeus detaches himself from the ship in fragment 73, a poem without explicit political reference[35] and without the intensity of the above two poems of Alcaeus. It describes a ship unwilling to submit itself to being battered by striking a reef,

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33 *Alleg. Hom.* 5, p. 4 Buffière.

34 Horace begins the poem with a warning to the ship that "new" waves (cf. Τόδ' αὖτε κῦμα, fr. 6.1) threaten to carry it out to sea, and this is followed by the advice to make for a safe port.

35 Gentili, *Poetry* 209 applies the allegory to a time when Pittacus is in power, driving the faction of Alcaeus into exile, and the citizens of Mytilene are tacitly endorsing his rule. Gentili proceeds to find referents for all the nautical details in the metaphor which fit with this historical scenario.

when its cargo and keel are left vulnerable to the waves and rain.[36] The speaker seems to part company with the ship in its precariousness, the distance underscored by the κῆνα μὲν at the beginning of v. 7.[37] While he shares her disinclination to continue to combat the storms, he (unlike her) can find refuge, in the symposium. He has made the decision to forget his troubles and drink with friends. The ship in this case cannot represent the *hetairia*: the speaker in effect is deserting the ship for his comrades. She must, then, represent the state. Alcaeus at this stage is leaving Mytilene to her fate, whatever that is.

The ship analogy of fr. 306i (col. II) is more complex. A papyrus fragment has preserved a *hypomnema* or commentary on a poem by Alcaeus of which we have only the lemmata embedded here. Such *hypomnemata* or critical interpretations, which were frequently allegorical, originated with the (Presocratic) Theagenes of Rhegium and were particulary popular in the 2nd century A.D. Since much of Archaic lyric was written for specific occasions and circumstances unfamiliar to later audiences, allegorical readings eased the transposition of this poetry to new surroundings. The text assumed by the commentary in fr. 306i seems to have contained the following details: sand, white impurities, chafing, inflammation and penetration, sides/legs which have yielded, and constant and close-packed voyages which have left a ship aged and unfit for further sailings. The ship that will sail no more recalls fr. 73, and one view is to take this *hypomnema* as a commentary on fr. 73.[38] Another is to read it as Alcaeus' complex image of an old ship, an inflammation, and Mytilene under the dictatorship of Pittacus.[39] The imagery is sexual as well, however, and it is possible to read here no political reference but simply a colourful description of a

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36 The lacunose text does not permit a secure reading of the details. It could also be the case that with the threat of destruction on the horizon the ship wishes to dash itself upon a reef (Kirkwood, *EGM* 76).

37 The demonstrative pronoun κῆνος is used on several occasions by Alcaeus, particularly at the beginning of a verse or strophe, to highlight an individual. See Gentili, *Poetry* 209, with n. 84. Elsewhere (e.g., frr. 70.6, 72.7 and 129.14 and 21) the pronoun so positioned bears negative connotations, leading Gentili to read the κῆνα of fr. 73 to imply "As for *her* (the ship), the devil take her if that is the state she is in." This vehemence is unwarranted, however, by the text of the poem as we have it.

38 So, Page 191-196.

39 Gentili, *Poetry* 211: "The rotting condition of the old ship 'that has seen many voyages' is a figure for the squalid, ruinous condition of the city of Mytilene, voluntarily fallen under the sway of the idolized Pittacus."

ship or a prostitute reaching the end of a career.[40] It is also possible to see here a triple analogy of the ship/prostitute/state: the unveiled metaphor is the prostitute signifying a worn-out vessel; the veiled metaphor is that of the ship and the woman signifying a diseased and weakened state. How much of the double metaphor originated with Alcaeus and how much with the later commentator? The words with specific reference to the prostitute can be confined to the sections provided by the commentator, and other ambiguous vocabulary such as the σκέλη of v.15 could belong simply to a personification of the ship in the original poem by Alcaeus. For Alcaeus, the state was in disarray and, as in fr. 73, was as unfit for service as a battered ship. The later commentator, for whom the political implications of this image were less immediate, then added an additional dimension in his interpretation.[41] In this he was drawing on a literary tradition that developed after Alcaeus with epigraphic poetry, the tradition of describing prostitutes in nautical terms.[42]

Whatever was the length or nature of the political course of Alcaeus' opponent Myrsilus, it came to an end with his death, celebrated by Alcaeus in fr. 332. While he was in power, however, some kind of collaboration between Myrsilus and Pittacus probably triggered the deep antipathy to the *aisymnetes* recorded in several of Alcaeus' songs.[43] The collaboration with Myrsilus amounted to a factional betrayal, for Pittacus had earlier joined forces with the brothers of Alcaeus in ousting Melanchrus. Fr. 70 angrily addresses this betrayal, isolating Pittacus with the pronoun κῆνος which opens the second strophe. In contrast to those who merely feast with idle braggarts (the scene presented in the first strophe) Pittacus is "devouring" the entire city, as he had done with Myrsilus

[40] Page 195-196 raises the question whether the ship in this case would be symbolic of the woman or the woman of the ship. If it is the latter, a nautical observation, "the ship, decayed and ancient, weary after many voyages, unfit for further use, is described in terms applicable to a courtesan, grown old and diseased, at the end of a long and exacting career."

[41] This "stratigraphy" of the metaphor, as she calls it, is carefully worked out by Porro in her analysis of the *hypomnema*, 104-121.

[42] Examples drawn from the *Palatine Anthology* are given by Porro, p. 110.

[43] In addition to the political invective which has survived, the poet made several attacks on the personal appearance of Pittacus: he calls him "pot-belly" (fr. 129), "drag-foot" (fr. 429), and "base-born" (fr. 348). These and other terms of abuse are quoted by Diogenes Laertius 1.81 (= fr. 429).

(v. 7). "That man," contracted a mock-heroic (and presumably, politically expedient) alliance by marrying into the family of the Penthilids, descendants of the legendary Atreidae (v. 6). A reminder of this marriage alliance sustains the invective in another way: the Penthilidae as a dynastic tyranny had a reputation for physical cruelty (Arist. *Pol.* 1311b26). In his poem Alcaeus builds up emotional intensity by a display of Pittacus' greed, then calls for action but, unlike the paraenetic ship-of-state poems, the direction of this call for action is inward: the behaviour of Pittacus justifies taking up arms (vv. 8-9), but only if the *hetairia* will desist from internal strife (vv. 9-13). The poet/speaker situates himself in the midst of this call to reform (λαθοίμεθ.., χαλάσσομεν, vv. 9-10); as in many of Alcaeus' songs he is the voice of, but not distinct from, his group.

The invective of fr. 129 is also fuelled by feelings of betrayal. The poet situates himself in exile (v. 12), in the sanctuary of the Lesbian triad of Zeus, Hera and Dionysus at some distance from Mytilene.[44] The gods are invoked in the first strophe with solemnity, Zeus in his capacity as patron of suppliants and Dionysus as "eater of raw flesh." These titles are proleptic for what follows: the poet/speaker postures as one (of many) needing protection from Pittacus who is bent upon devouring the city. In its attack on the dictator's greed, and its denunciation of his betrayal, the song bears some resemblance to fr. 70, but in fr. 129 the mood shifts in the reverse direction. In fr. 70 anger gives way to introspection, but in fr. 129 the movement is otherwise. Quiet solemnity yields to a call for vengeance: the mood pivots on ἄρας of v. 10: this is at once a "prayer" and a "curse," and the curse dominates in the rest of the song as intensity builds over the betrayal of the oath taken jointly by Pittacus, the speaker and his party (v.14).[45] The lofty tone of the sacred setting is sustained by the epic call for a Fury to avenge the perjurer (cf. *Il.* 19.258-260, Hes. *Op.* 803-804), but the tone descends to colloquial abuse when Pittacus is called φύσγων, "pot-belly" (v. 21).[46]

Was Alcaeus' portrait of the voracious Pittacus an accurate one?

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[44] The sanctuary is probably to be identified with the one at Cape Phokas on the south coast of Lesbos, alluded to in Sappho fr. 17. See Quinn 391-393.

[45] The occurrence of the word Μύρσιλ[ο at the end of the song as we have it is strong evidence that the betrayal amounted to Pittacus' defection to the party of Myrsilus.

[46] Bowra, *GLP* 143-144.

There was a popular work-song from Eresus in antiquity whose refrain may suggest it was: "Grind, mill, grind, for Pittacus grinds too, ruling great Mytilene."[47] This may be a reflection of some harsh measures he introduced as *aisymnetes* but, given the reputation he also possessed in antiquity for generosity, leniency and wisdom,[48] the song may reflect not the historical Pittacus but the popularity of the songs of Alcaeus.

An epic setting of heroic scale is evoked in fr. 298, another powerful piece of invective against Pittacus, in which most of the surviving verses present the myth of the violation of Cassandra by Locrian Ajax. Only in the fragmentary last lines does it become apparent that this is not just a mythical account but that Ajax' sacrilege is paradigmatic of the crimes of Pittacus,[49] thereby rendering the dictator's actions offenses against the gods. The current text, with a total of 49 discernible verses, is a combination of two papyrus fragments; gaps in the text along with the obeli beside vv. 25-31 of one of these papyri have suggested some serious rearrangement of the text.[50] There is general agreement now that the text begins with a call to stone a certain sinner. The poem moves directly to the narrative of Ajax' crime and the grief he caused to the returning Greeks by this. The retribution of Athena as described is swift and grim: since the crime and punishment are to be read as paradigmatic for Pittacus the implication is that his punishment will be of epic proportion.[51] The call for stoning at the beginning of the poem suggests a group act of retribution, and by implication Alcaeus is summoning his comrades or perhaps all the people of Mytilene to punish an act of ἀσέβεια: to do anything less is to leave themselves open to the wrath of the gods.

Alcaeus chose other myths from the Trojan cycle in his songs, giving a heroic dimension to the complexities of his life of

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47 Plut. *Sept. sap. conv.* 14.157de = fr. 869 *PMG*.

48 See, for example, the portrait of Pittacus in Diogenes Laertius 1.74-81.

49 The word Ὕρρα (v. 47, Voigt, following Merkelbach) is connected with τὸν Ὕρραον ...πα[ῖδ]α of fr. 129.13, which the context identifies as Pittacus.

50 For a history of the proposed arrangement of the text see van Erp Taalman Kip 118-122. The obeli occur in *POxy*. 2021, published by R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 1 (1967) 81-93. Additional commentary was provided by Lloyd-Jones 125-39. This papyrus considerably augmented the other from Oxyrhynchus (Inv. 2303 fr. 1a), published 16 years earlier.

51 Epic language reinforces this: Athena (like the epic Zeus) looks "terror beneath her brows" (δεῖνον ὐπ' [ὄ]φρυσι, v.24) and darts "over the wine-dark sea" (κὰτ οἴνοπα/ἄιξ[ε, vv. 25-26).

action.[52] Fr. 42 is usually taken to be a comparison between the good wife (Thetis) and the bad wife (Helen). But while Helen was the archetypal bad wife Thetis was no Penelope: she may have been a good mother of Achilles, but she abandoned her husband almost as soon as her son was born.[53] Two of the four Sapphic stanzas of fr. 42[54] describe the wedding of Thetis, encouraging the reading that the song contrasts two marriages, or rather a legitimate wedding and adultery, the one rewarded with the birth of a hero and the other producing death.[55] But the wedding of Peleus and Thetis in this song is framed by violence; it is preceded by a stanza referring to the death of the Trojans and is followed by an account of the destruction of Troy, which ends the song. Achilles, whose birth bridges the two central (wedding) stanzas, was the primary agent of this destruction, and the rôles of Helen, Thetis and Achilles are interlaced in the song around the theme of the magnitude of heroic violence. Although Helen, with her "evil deeds" (v. 1) is contrasted with Thetis, the "tender bride" (v. 8), in the type of dramatic confrontation we frequently find in Alcaeus, they both cause death.[56] *Prima facie* we have a sequence of the negative and the positive epic paradigm; *secunda facie* we have a more complex reflection for the *hetairia.*

The wrath and destruction brought about by Achilles was the expressed theme of the *Iliad,* and was also the subject of Alcaeus' fr. 44, of which only parts of the last two couplets remain. This song reworks in a much smaller compass[57] the epic narrative of the hero's petition to Thetis and hers to Zeus (*Iliad* 1.365-412, 495-530). Achilles' μᾶνις occurs in the last verse, and it is not surprising that the paradigmatic epic hero who is full of vengeful wrath should be honoured in the songs of Alcaeus. Perhaps by selecting this hero the poet had hopes for his own ultimate vindication as an angry partisan. Fr. 354 consists of the phrase "Achilles, lord of Scythia."

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[52] On the possibility that Alcaeus was indebted to Stesichorus for his use of epic themes in lyric form see Kirkwood, *EGM* 92.

[53] The point is made by Gomme 258.

[54] It is possible that the song is virtually complete as we have it. There is a coronis at v. 16.

[55] So, Burnett 193-195.

[56] The sequence of destruction and Thetis' rôle in it are captured in the clausulae of the four Sapphic stanzas: Ἴλιον ἴραν/πάρθενον ἄβραν/ἐς δ' ἐνίαυτον/καὶ πόλις αὔτων. The fall of Troy occurs here in ring-composition.

[57] It may have been originally no more than eight lines, of which we possess portions of each (Page 282). There is a coronis at v. 8.

This follows the legend in which Achilles was rewarded after death with marriage to Medea, Iphigeneia, or Helen[58] and ruled in a paradise-like setting near the mouths of the Danube.

Alcaeus' poetic wrath was never more intense than when aroused by the suspicion of disloyalty, and this too finds an epic prototype. Helen symbolized treachery for him; her betrayal of the οἶκος, of husband and child, was an act symbolic of the betrayal of political comrades. In fragment 283 the poet is unrelenting in his condemnation of Helen's passion and its consequences. A comparison with Sappho's fr. 16 is striking: where Sappho celebrates the power and beauty of love, symbolized by Helen's leaving husband and daughter and departing with Paris, Alcaeus uses this same image and the same vocabulary of passion as we find in Sappho's fr. 31[59] to heighten the deadly consequences of Helen's lust. The death of her lover's brothers and comrades is described in epic style,[60] and Alcaeus takes advantage of the Sapphic metre to point out the cause: the clausula of the third stanza contains two words of unequivocal condemnation, ἔν]νεκα κήνας.

The Alexandrian edition of Alcaeus began with two hymns, to Apollo and Hermes. We have no idea how many more hymns the poet composed, nor the occasions on which they were sung. Several of our summaries indicate that the hymns honoured gods who were appropriate patrons of young men: the Dioscuri, Hermes, Apollo, Athena. This increases the plausibility that they, like Alcaeus' other songs, were intended for his comrades.[61] Like the Homeric Hymns, these hymns seem to have contained narratives of the gods and praise for their divine attributes. There is no suggestion that ritual activities accompanied the performance; their audience was prepared to be entertained. The hymns of Alcaeus differ from their epic counterparts on some details, however, indicating that he had access to cult- and mythic material outside the usual canon: fr. 325 is in honour of Athena Itonia, a Thessalian-Boeotian cult; fr. 327 names Iris and Zephyr as the parents of Eros, a pedigree unparalleled elsewhere.

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58 According to a scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes (*ad* 4.814-815) his marriage to Medea was referred to by Ibycus and Simonides (fr. 558 *PMG*); for his marriage to Iphigeneia see Rohde 565, n. 99; with Helen, see Paus. 3.19.11-13.

59 ἐπτόαισε, v. 3, cf. Sappho fr. 31.6.

60 πεδίω<ι> δά[μεντας (v. 13), ἄρματ' ἐν κονίαισι(v. 15), ἐλίκωπε[ς (v. 16).

61 The point is made by Robbins 41.

Fr. 34, in honour of the Dioscuri, is the most complete of Alcaeus' hymns: we possess the first three of (probably) six Sapphic stanzas. It bears some similarities to *Homeric Hymn* 33, for it concentrates on the twin gods' rescue of sailors in trouble at sea. They arrive during a night of trouble; radiant through the darkness, they bring the light of safety as they leap on the ship (v. 11). Although we find a great deal of epic diction here,[62] there is more artistry than in the epic version of the hymn; the alliteration in φ[άος φέ]ροντες highlights a light-bearing gift, preceded and followed by words underscoring the sailors' fear—darkness, night, a black ship.[63]

Of fragment 307 we possess only the first verse, in Alcaic metre. We know its contents principally through the prose summary of Himerius. Apollo is presented with Delphic rather than Delian characteristics, yet the details differ markedly from the epic hymn (*Homeric Hymn* 3). In Alcaeus' version Apollo defies the instructions of Zeus to bring music and justice to Delphi, diverting his course first to the Hyperboreans. There he delivers law for a year, before flying back to Delphi in mid-summer with his gift of music. Nature responds to his arrival; the birds and cicadas sing for him "the kind of song that was like one which you would expect the birds to sing in Alcaeus," paraphrases Himerius. The river waters rise in a silvery flood, Himerius continues, for Alcaeus like Homer is aware that water responds to the presence of a god. This poet is a different Alcaeus from the one whose voice is filled with hatred or distress. We are not accustomed to listen for the songs of birds in Alcaeus. Apollo as lawgiver is a feature not found in the Homeric version, and it appears that Alcaeus has selected details from the western, mainland cult of the god: Aeolian Apollo was not associated with law nor music. This suggests that the audience for this hymn may have been broader than Alcaeus' island home. It also suggests that he had access to a cosmopolitan body of mythological material.

We have only the opening Sapphic stanza of fragment 308, a hymn greeting Hermes and telling of his birth. Pausanias reports that the story of the young god's theft of Apollo's cattle was found here. If Porphyry is right in his commentary on Horace, *Odes* 1.10,

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62 In the second strophe alone we find: εὔρηαν χ[θόνα], ὠ[κυπό]δων ἐπ' ἴππων and θα[ν]άτω...ζακρυόεντος.

63 Gerber *ad* v. 11.

this is a Latin version of Alcaeus' hymn, and if so, Horace's vv. 9-12 suggests that Alcaeus had a sense of humour when he included a detail not found in its epic counterpart (*Homeric Hymn* 4): while Apollo confronts the boy-god with dire threats if he does not return the cattle, Hermes climbs on his back and steals his quiver.

A sensitivity to nature is more apparent in the extant songs of Alcaeus than is a sense of humour. One hesitates to generalize about a "Lesbian aesthetic," but it is possible to see some of the same receptivity to natural beauty in Alcaeus as we find in Sappho. The imagery of Alcaeus' fr. 115 bears a strong resemblance to Sappho's fr. 2: the context of his song has not survived, but we have such Sapphic-like phrases as cold water, spring-time rustling of leaves, vines, plaited flowers, and roses. Maidens bathe in the clear waters of the Thracian river Hebrus in fr. 45, soothing their thighs with their delicate hands, and no less Sapphic is fr. 296b, which appears to connect a certain Damoanactidas with spring, in a love-context where boys are garlanded with hyacinths and there is the scent of ambrosia. Other scents or sights are carried down from olive-trees. Youths and hyacinths suggest an evocation of the rite of the Hyacinthia, as Sappho's fr. 2 evoked the rites of Aphrodite.

Fr. 130b is a song written from exile, a dramatic monologue which expresses some of the same sensitivity that listened for the songs of birds or the rustling of olive trees. This is combined with Alcaeus' political reflections, integrating the varied facets of this poet. The mood at the opening is one of self-pity and resentment, the cry of a poet and activist in exile. He longs for the sounds of the assembly and council being called in Mytilene, recalling the epic setting in which Odysseus is least heroic, exiled with Calypso, and longing to see the smoke rising from the fires in Ithaca (*Od.* 1.57-59). Alcaeus is angry at the loss of his ancestral property through the internal strife in the city, and his resentment is reflected in the *hapax* ἀ]λλαλοκάκων (v. 7); but as an Odysseus now, not an Achilles, he advises himself to be cautious, to "keep his feet out of trouble" (v. 16), and the emotional tone of the poem shifts with this recognition. His feet are in a place of tranquility, not of action, and he allows himself to hear different sounds. His ears are filled with the voices of women, not men, the other-worldly *ololyge* of a women's rite. His eyes take in the sight of attractive women in trailing robes, competing for beauty in a festival of Hera. We capture the poet in a sober moment, his spirit quelled but not his senses.

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SAPPHO[1]

Date

Sappho's *floruit* was routinely synchronized in antiquity with that of Alcaeus and Pittacus. Eusebius recorded the *acme* of the two poets as Ol. 45.1 (600/599 = *test.*6), and the *Suda* slightly earlier, Ol. 42 (612/608 = *test.* 2).[2] She, like Alcaeus, lived in Mytilene during a time of great political turbulence, and the Parian Marble (*FGrHist* 239A36 = *test.* 5) attests to her going into exile in Sicily sometime between 605/4 and 595/4.[3] Alcaeus is usually reported as going into exile at this same time, to escape the rise in power of Pittacus and to amass strength against him (see above, pp. 135-36).

Life and Reputation

There are indications that Sappho, like Alcaeus, belonged to one of the powerful families in Mytilene, which likely accounts for her going into exile. Ancient sources refer to her brother pouring wine in the town hall, an activity reserved for the sons of noble families according to a scholiast on the *Iliad* (*ad* 20.234 = fr. 203c). Her concern for family reputation is expressed in her fr. 5, in which she castigates the profligacy of another brother and the effect this has had on her name. Fr. 148 also reflects Sappho's aristocratic sentiments, with her claim that wealth without ἀρέτα is dangerous. She mentions the exile of Cleonactids in fr. 98b, the family to which Myrsilus belonged, suggesting that she was not unaware of the clan feuds in Mytilene (cf. the reference to the Penthilid clan in fr. 71). Indeed, the tension underlying remarks about her poetic

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[1] All references to fragments of Sappho (unless otherwise specified) follow the numbering of Voigt. All testimonia are cited according to Campbell 1982.

[2] Cf. Strabo 13.2.3 (= *test.* 7): συνήκμασε δὲ τούτοις (Pittacus and Alcaeus) καὶ ἡ Σαπφώ. On this synchronism see Mosshammer, *Chronicle* 345 and n. 4.

[3] The entry on the *Marmor* is fragmented just at the point of the dating, but this interval can be assumed from the two entries on either side of that concerning Sappho's exile. See Mosshammer, *Chronicle* 250 and Page 224-225 with n. 4.

rivals, such as Andromeda in fr. 130.3-4 or Gorgo in fr. 144,[4] may have political underpinnings: Andromeda and Gorgo both belonged to the Polyanactid clan, treated unkindly by Sappho in fr. 155. We possess little else in the way of evidence about Sappho's rôle in the politics of Lesbos during her lifetime.

Many assumptions have been made about her life, based upon statements in the *Suda* and other sources from antiquity which have been heavily influenced by comic caricatures of Sappho which began late in the 5th century. The *Suda* claimed that she was married to a wealthy man called Cercylas who did business from[5] Andros (= *test.* 2), two names which may well have been first used on the comic stage.[6] Ancient biographies also turned to her poetry in order to construct details from her life. The testimony found in a papyrus of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1 = *test.* 1) and the *Suda* that she had a daughter named Cleis may be inferred from her frr. 98 and 132. In the former a kinship relationship is not mentioned, however, and the word παῖς was frequently used to refer to the young beloved of male homosexual partners.[7] In fr. 132, however, Cleis is referred to as an ἀγαπάτα... πάις, a phrase which may refer to an only child, a daughter.[8]

Subjective biographies of Sappho have been fuelled by more intensity of feeling than is the case with the other Greek poets,[9] for in her songs we find suggestions of female homoeroticism. The *Suda* reports that she was slandered for her relationship with Atthis, Telesippa and Megara, a "shameful friendship." The same papyrus that mentioned her "daughter" Cleis also claimed that her

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[4] Maximus of Tyre (*Or.* 18.9 = *test.* 20) refers to Gorgo and Andromeda as Sappho's ἀντίτεχνοι.

[5] This is a probable rendering of the ὁρμωμένῳ of the *Suda.*

[6] "Cercylas," a hapax, may be related to κερκίς, and be equivalent to "tail" or "cock"; "Andros" would suit the off-colour punning as a reference to the "Isle of Man." See Aly in *RE* s.v. "Sappho" col. 2361.40.

[7] See, for example, Dover 16, 85. Other references are given by Hallett 1982: 22, n. 5. This has led some readers to reject the claim that Cleis was a daughter and argue for her being a young beloved of Sappho's.

[8] The case is made forcefully by Hallett 1982: 21-31, on the basis of a study of the use of the word ἀγαπητός in Archaic poetry which found that the word referred exclusively to a beloved only child.

[9] On the construction of *vitae* of the Greek poets in antiquity see above p. 7 and n.24. A vigorous attempt to purge this "biopoetic" of Sappho was made by Parker 309-351. For an excellent historical overview of the constructed biographies of Sappho and the effect this has had on readings of her poetry see Most 1995: 15-38.

reputation suffered from her being a "woman-lover" (γυναικεράστρια). Horace probably alluded to her reputation for tribadism by calling her *mascula* (*Ep.* 1.19.28), and in the 15th letter of the *Heroides,* an Ovidian epistle usually considered to be genuine (= *test.* 19), the poet makes Sappho confess that she suffered reproach for having loved more than a hundred women (vv. 19, 201). Criticism of her homosexual activity is found, not surprisingly, in Christian writers.[10]

In the Ovidian epistle we find a change of heart in Sappho, for she expresses a desire for a man named Phaon.[11] The comic poets had awarded to Sappho a reputation for (often promiscuous) heterosexual liaisons, and this type of active desire for men is found in later biographical sketches. Athenaeus (13.598bc, 599cd = *test.* 8) records the implausible tradition that Anacreon, Archilochus and Hipponax were among her lovers. These reports of her sexual encounters with men raise some serious questions when we compare them with Sappho's poetry. The comic portrait could not have arisen as pure invention: these descriptions were composed only two centuries after her death, at a time when Sappho's popularity in Athens would be doubtless assured by inclusion of her works in poetic anthologies circulating in book form, and when her songs were becoming familiar by being sung at symposia.[12] Did this reputation for heterosexual desire have any basis in Sappho's songs? Her fr. 138 appears to extend an erotic invitation to a man, and there could have been other songs now lost to us in which men were the object of erotic attention. But there may be another explanation, namely that the distinction between heterosexual and homosexual desire is a sharp one only for modern readers,[13] and it

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[10] Some examples of these are given by Snyder 1989: 9-10.

[11] The tradition in which Sappho was said to have jumped to her death from the white rocks of Leukas over love for the ferryman Phaon, is probably drawn from her close association with Aphrodite. Phaon was a mythical double of Adonis; Sappho composed songs associated with the Adonia, giving voice to Aphrodite's grief over the loss of Adonis (e.g., fr. 140), and may have similarly expressed Aphrodite's desire for Phaon in a song now lost to us, giving rise to the legendary connection with Sappho. On this connection see Nagy 1973: 137-77.

[12] For the likelihood that Sappho's songs were recorded in writing soon after their composition, and circulated in papyrus rolls in the fifth century see Williamson 38. For evidence of Sappho's popularity at the symposia see Most 1995: 31, n. 81.

[13] There has been much written on this subject recently, applying to our analysis of antiquity the theory of the construction of sexuality developed by

is likely that the contradiction between the two types of sexual orientation applied to Sappho is only a superficial one. The real difficulty is that she contravened traditional expectations of a woman's rôle in sexual relationships by awarding value to women as desiring lovers, and not merely portraying them as passive recipients of love. In antiquity women who initiated erotic activity earned themselves a reputation for notoriety; the object of desire was of secondary importance.

The ancients faced other difficulties in reconciling the many facets of Sappho's assumed life. A married woman with a daughter, a series of male and female lovers and a poetic career is a busy woman.[14] Her sexual notoriety grew until, perhaps as early as the 3rd century, she was assumed to be a prostitute.[15] This sat ill with the high praise she consistently received as a poet throughout Greece. We have the (probably apocryphal but nonetheless significant) story that Solon was said to have heard his nephew sing one of her songs and asked him to teach this to him so that he might "learn it and die" (Aelian, *ap.* Stobaeus *Flor.* 3.29.58 = *test.* 10). Vases, coins and bronze statues were produced in the 6th and 5th centuries commemorating Sappho,[16] Plato included her with the "skilled poets of earlier days" (*Phdr.* 235bc), and by the Hellenistic period Sappho had acquired the reputation of being the "tenth Muse" (*Anth. Pal.* 9.506 = *test.* 60, cf. *Anth. Pal.* 7.14 = *test.* 27). The Roman poets, despite what may have been a prevailing mood of censure over her love for women, demonstrated their admiration for her poetic ability in the traditional manner, by imitation. The ancients resolved the contradiction between poet laureate and tribad/whore by assuming that there were two Sapphos (see, for example Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 12.19, = *test.* 4).[17]

Michel Foucault. The best-known work is probably D. Halperin's *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (1990). For a lucid account of the application to Sappho's poetry, see Williamson 125-132.

[14] The point is made with sane good humour by Most 1995: 17.

[15] Nymphodorus (*ap.* Athenaeus 13.596e) is the first surviving source for this. For a list of other texts alleging this see Campbell's note to *test.* 22.

[16] On portraits of Sappho in vase-paintings see Williamson 6-7, and Snyder 1989: 6-7. For the striking of coins at Mytilene honouring Sappho see Pollux 9.84 = *test.* 11 with Campbell's note. (Aristotle grudgingly conceded that the people of Mytilene honoured Sappho "even though she was a woman" [*Rhet.* 1398b13].) Cicero attests to a statue of Sappho standing in the town hall in Syracuse (*Verr.* 2.4.125-127 = *test.* 24), presumably a legacy of her exile there.

[17] On this "duplication" of Sappho and later modifications of the theory see Most 1995: 17-19.

Modern readers, no less than ancient ones, have been preoccupied with the sexual life of Sappho and the complex ways in which this may be integrated with what has survived of her poetry.[18] The modern debate begins with the German philologist F. G. Welcker, who in the early 19th century attempted to rescue Sappho from the charge of homosexuality.[19] He downplayed her reputation for sexual excesses of any kind (attributing this to the fictional comic parodies) in favour of establishing her reputation as a teacher.[20] At the end of the 19th century, the French writer Pierre Louÿs provoked an influential successor of Welcker's, Wilamowitz, with a sensuous (fictional) translation of homoerotic musings by a purported member of the group of young women who associated with Sappho, passing them off as genuine relics from antiquity. Wilamowitz responded with the vigour and certainty born of Prussian (male) scholarship and 19th century *mores*: Sappho was a respectable woman, wife and mother; girls came to her "school of the Muses" (the μοισοπόλων <δόμωι> of fr. 150) to study poetry and music, in order to perform wedding- and religious songs.[21]

It is true that musicians regularly offered instruction to younger apprentices in the Archaic Greek world, and there is no reason to think that Sappho was an exception. A papyrus fragment from the Roman period containing a commentary on Sappho has recently come to light, in which she is described as teaching the noblest girls not only from local families but also from families in Ionia.[22] The papyrus also contains a fragmentary sentence attributed to Callias, a Hellenistic commentator on Sappho and Alcaeus who

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18 On the *Nachleben* of Sappho in France, see De Jean; for Germany, see Rüdiger. A brief summary of her influence from the Renaissance to the 20th century is given by Snyder 1989: 10-12 and 35-37. For a demonstration of how Sappho has been championed by modern women writers, particularly lesbian writers, see Gubar 43-62.

19 *Sappho von einem herrschenden Vorurtheil befreyt* (Göttingen 1816). This was re-published in his *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 2 (Bonn 1845, re-printed in Osnabrück in 1973) 80-144.

20 Most 1995: 25 makes the point that this focus on Sappho as a pedagogue was, at least in part, an *apologia* of Welcker's for the then fledgling German science of classical philology.

21 Wilamowitz 1913: 63-78.

22 παιδεύουσα τὰς ἀρίστας οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας. The papyrus was published by M. Gronewald (*ZPE* 14 [1974] 114-18), who dates it to the 2nd century A.D. (It is printed as fr. 261A *SLG* and in Campbell 1982 as fr. 214B.) This description of Sappho's rôle might be accurate, but the view may also date from the time of the papyrus, 700 years after Sappho, when female tutors were not unknown and Sappho's reputation was well established.

came from Lesbos (Strabo 13.2.4 = *test.* 41).[23] The *Suda* describes Sappho as having three μαθήτριαι or "pupils" from abroad, two from Ionia and one from Salamis (= *test.* 2). While the *Suda* distinguishes these μαθήτριαι from Sappho's ἑταῖραι ("woman-companions") with whom, it claims, she had a "shameful friendship," it is not necessarily the case that in Sappho's *milieu* passion was detachable from the paedeutic function.[24] Maximus of Tyre, a sophist in the 2nd century A.D., likens Sappho to Socrates, surrounded by beautiful/handsome followers whom they loved (18.9 = *test.* 20).[25] Just how formal was the setting for Sappho's teaching we cannot know, given the present state of the evidence. Her fr. 150 contains a warning not to carry out lamentation in a "house which serves the Muses" (ἐν μοισοπόλων <δόμωι>[26]). Those who prefer to see Sappho in a more or less formal rôle as an instructor are persuaded that this is the site at which she prepared young girls for their adult lives as (cultivated) brides, wives and mothers.[27] Her instructions to Dica in fr. 81 to crown herself with flowers "because the Graces turn away from the ungarlanded" can be cited as an

[23] If the statement on the papyrus originates with Callias it has the advantage of coming from someone familiar with Lesbian history, but Callias still postdates Sappho by 200 years, and if there were women poets on the island after Sappho, a Lesbian tradition may have arisen that claimed they were pupils of Sappho. Calame I 385-420 illustrates the fact that maiden choruses during the Archaic period by their very nature received education, and this may be the import of the word παιδεύουσα in the papyrus.

[24] On the general recognition of the importance of love as an educative force between men and boys or between women and girls in the archaic period, see Fränkel, *EGPP* 176. We have of course much more evidence for males than for females, and if Sappho is our principal source for women the argument is circular.

[25] Cf. Ovid, *Trist.* 2.365: *lesbia quid docuit Sappho, nisi amare, puellas?*

[26] δόμῳ is Hartung's conjecture for the unmetrical οἰκίᾳ. δόμος, unlike οἰκία, is used of temples/abodes of the gods hence (by extension) is acceptable here for a building in which the divine Muses are served.

[27] An influential article on this subject was that of Merkelbach. He argued for Sappho's leading a *Mädchenbund*, a society of maidens, parallel to the *Männerbund* or a group of men with whom men in Archaic Greek society identified, particularly in initiatory or military contexts. Merkelbach (1-6) defined Sappho's circle as organized around cult activities, similar to the Spartan maidens for whom Alcman composed his *partheneia.* Sappho also provided instruction in "women's work, good manners and music" before the young girls became brides, he claimed. Here he differs from Page who argues that "the principal themes of Sappho's poetry, so far as it is known to us, are her loves and hatreds" (133). For a more recent debate about the function of Sappho's female-oriented and, at times passionate, verses, see Hallett 1979: 447-464 and Stigers 1979: 465-471.

example of her aesthetic mentoring. The fact that Sappho composed epithalamia is adduced in this exercise of biopoetics, for these can be read as songs for the weddings of Sappho's "graduates." Her songs reflecting the pain of desire for an absent girl are read as longing for a former pupil now married.

We cannot be sure of the nature of Sappho's teaching function, nor whether the sensuousness and the passions she displays in her songs were an extension of that function. We can, however, situate many of those feelings and emotions within the context of religious activities on Lesbos. Several of her songs contain references to rituals, and the goddess Aphrodite figures in many of them. This raises the significant question whether we are to assume that much of Sappho's work was actually composed for and performed at ritual events, or whether these cult activities simply inspired the form and content of her songs, which could then be performed in non-ritual contexts. Several modern commentators have used the word *thiasos* in connection with Sappho, implying that she functioned as a recognized cult-leader, with a band of followers whom she trained to perform songs and dances at events honoring Aphrodite or other goddesses.[28] Bruno Gentili, who was persuaded that Sappho performed the sacral functions of a *thiasos*-leader, developed the idea of Sappho herself as ἄγνα, someone who inspired veneration.[29] But the word *thiasos* does not occur in her extant verses, and the recent reluctance to push the evidence to such a degree of ritual formality in order to explain Sappho's poetry is salutary. The tendency to try to categorize her poems as either sacred or secular is not appropriate, for in the Archaic Greek world the sacred was a dimension of all life, including sexual passion.

Audience

If we argue for a ritual context for those songs which contain cult language, a second question arises, namely whether these performances would be open to the entire community, or would involve smaller groups of devotees of the divinity. In other words, were

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[28] Once again, the tradition seems to have begun with Wilamowitz (1897: 259-60). A list of subsequent adherents is collected by Parker 339. Many of these make a comparison between Sappho's songs and the *partheneia* of Alcman.

[29] Gentili 37-62.

Sappho's songs with religious content "public" or "private?" There has been no satisfactory resolution of this question. Her wedding songs appear to be designed for a public moment in the marriage ritual, and their teasing, jocular tone suggests entertainment for a mixed audience. In a few of her songs which are not explicitly hymeneal she seems to be addressing a man, which may imply that men were (at least occasionally) present in her audience. In fr. 121, for example, a man is advised to "take the bed of a younger woman" because, the speaker explains, she finds the prospect of being the older partner in a relationship intolerable. Does a mixed audience guarantee that a song is "public?"

Many have argued that Sappho's songs were "public" or "private" according to whether they were choral or monodic. Until recently, analysts of early Greek poetry have assumed that the boundaries between choral and monodic verse were firm, and that conventions of composition and performance were determined by these two generic categories. Choral songs were strophic, formal, and often were danced in performance. They frequently contained mythical *exempla* and represented not just the personal voice but the collective voice of the community such as we find, for example, in the *epinicia* of Pindar. Recently, the case has been made for these paradigmatic "choral" works being instead monodic, sung as solo performances and not danced.[30]

Sappho's wedding songs and her ritual songs which appear to be closely tied to festival events were likely sung by a group of women, and therefore could be classed as "choral."[31] In two of the wedding songs the performers are designated as *parthenoi* (frr. 30, 44), and in the song for the Adonia(fr. 140) the singers are *korai*. In none of Sappho's other songs is it clear that the performers or the audience were exclusively maidens. The fact that she composed wedding songs, and likely trained young girls for performance of her ritual songs, has led many to assume that Sappho's audience for her love-songs consisted of nubile girls, *parthenoi*. This assumption has been supported by the pederastic model behind the love-songs of male poets and the initiatory rituals of Sparta.[32] But there is

[30] See Lefkowitz 1995: 139-150 for a history of the current debate over this topic, and p. 256.

[31] An anonymous poem from the *Palatine Anthology* (9.189) makes reference to Sappho's leading a chorus of women in a dance at a festival of Hera (*test.* 59).

[32] See above, n. 24, and *test.* 20.

no reason why Sappho's audience for her love-songs could not have included women as well as girls.[33]

Sappho's non-ritual songs were likely composed for solo performance, but does this oblige us to classify them as "private," while the other songs are "public?" If Sappho sang her songs in the first instance to a group of women it is highly likely that the women would memorize them and repeat them in other contexts, further complicating the question of just what constitutes a "private" and what a "public" song.[34] Was her "group" a women's equivalent for the *hetairia* of Alcaeus? Fr. 160 was quoted by Athenaeus as evidence that *hetairai* for Sappho (as for free-born women and girls of his time) were intimate and familiar female friends (συνήθεις καὶ φίλας, 13.571d): in the fragment the singer claims to be singing "beautifully for the delight of my *hetairai*." Often, however, in Sappho's songs the addressee (explicit or implicit) is singled out from the group: not all of her songs would have brought the sense of collective pleasure and affirmation to a group which those of Alcaeus offered his *hetairia*.[35]

The Question of Persona

The strongly personal tone of most of her poems, and the fact that Sappho includes her own name in some of her songs, has encouraged readings which assume that they are confessional in nature, that the poetic *persona* is the poet herself. Some readers, however, point out Sappho's ability to manipulate several poetic

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[33] The case has been made forcefully by Eva Stehle 1997: 262-318. She argues that "Without the initiation theory we cannot confine Sappho's life and love to an institution and a passing phase of young women's lives. She may have desired some among the *parthenoi* whom she trained; she may have been attracted to married women, younger, older, or coeval. Sappho's poetry does not reveal conformity with the male model of older lover and younger beloved. If we are not committed to institutionalizing Sappho's emotional life, we can leave open the question about the identity of those who attracted her" (278).

[34] Stehle 1997: 292-311 makes the daring suggestion that such songs as frr. 1, 31, 94 and 96 were private missives, sent to women with the aid of writing, with the intention of overcoming separation brought about by distance or estrangement.

[35] Stehle 1997: 288: "But Sappho's love poetry does not support the analogy with the symposium poets; the major poems and fragments are antithetical to the creation of collective bonhomie."

voices, even within the same poem, and conclude that looking for a single *persona* in her work is an elusive quest. Unlike the exhortations of Alcaeus, which are tied to a single occasion or circumstance, Sappho's outbursts of human passion or descriptions of ritual ambience are at once specific and timeless. The oral nature of the performance and transmission of Sappho's songs, which would persist in women's circles long after the advent of literacy, allowed her verses to be shared, interpreted and repeated at will by her audience.[36] Sappho's words do not seem intended to reflect the author's unique subject position, and at times an ambiguity of voice or situation appears to be embedded in her poetic style (see on frr. 1 and 31 below). Oral transmission creates another possibility, that of resistance to the dominant culture; songs can be sung without general scrutiny when they are performed exclusively among a culturally segregated group. Sappho's songs which expressed homoerotic desire for other women could differ from the more widespread (male) model of erotic verse in which mastery and domination characterized the nature of passion: her depiction of desire includes bilateral (and universal) feelings of love rarely found in this poetry. The survival of her verses and her literary reputation in antiquity attest to the fact that her songs were ultimately repeated outside women's circles and that her diffused eroticism was also attractive to men.[37]

Was Sappho a revolutionary, or was she simply following a tradition of women poets? We have no surviving texts from any female predecessors, but we can surmise that in the women's quarters, where spinning songs or lullabies were sung, or at women's religious festivals where women sang and danced, the music could well have originated with women. The "voice" of the lyrics could be a personal one, but its message would be drawn from shared experiences of women. A list of female poets was compiled during the Roman period (*Anth. Pal.* 9.26), which may have relied upon an Alexandrian collection of earlier women poets. Whether or not Sappho joined a tradition of women poets, she clearly started one, for Erinna and Nossis, who composed verses during the

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[36] Sappho refers more than once to songs which other women sing about each other (for example, frr. 21, 22, 96), and it is not impossible that the songs were originally composed by Sappho.

[37] Skinner 131-137. For a collection of evidence demonstrating her popularity among men see Skinner's note 10, p. 140.

Hellenistic period, saw themselves or were regarded as her successors.[38]

Poetry

We possess one complete song of Sappho's, thanks to its quotation by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the 1st century B.C. In addition to fragments too brief for analysis we have substantial portions of 10 other songs. The latest modern critical edition, produced by Eva-Maria Voigt in 1971, has been compiled from ancient quotations, from papyrus and parchment fragments and in the case of fr. 2, from a text scratched on a pottery sherd.[39] There were at least two collections of her work made in the Alexandrian period, when Sappho was added to the canon of the nine lyric poets and her poems assembled in nine books. One of these books contained the title "epithalamia,"[40] and in addition to the lyric poems there may have been a book of elegiac and other types of songs.[41] Unfortunately, Sappho's work has suffered greatly in the process of its transmission.[42] Many of the 200 fragments now in our possession consist only of isolated words, compounding the difficulties of interpretation already made acute by our lack of knowledge about their cultural context.

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[38] Erinna: *Anth. Pal.* 9.190, Nossis: *Anth. Pal.* 7.718.

[39] The ostrakon fragment dates from the third/second century B.C., the earliest papyrus and parchment fragments come from the Roman period. Henri Estienne compiled the first printed edition, based solely on quotations, in 1560. The first modern critical text was compiled in 1839 by Ahrens, who based it on ancient excerpts as well as quotations. Voigt's edition has replaced that edited by Lobel and Page in 1955.

[40] This is inferred from the commentary included on the parchment with fr. 103. It is clear, however, that Sappho's wedding songs were not confined to one book.

[41] On the content and arrangement of the poems in antiquity, see Hooker 11-13 and Page 113-116.

[42] For a discussion of the history and transmission of the Sapphic corpus, including the difficulties of editing the fragments that have survived, see Williamson 34-59. She argues that the last copies of the complete works were made in the eighth century, and that the poor state of the collection in the modern era can be accounted for by the reluctance to copy the texts (before printing) because of a preference for the Attic dialect, for the rhetorical genre or for Christian content. For other indications that the loss of complete manuscripts can be accounted for as much by a change in taste as by censorship see the foreword by W. R. Johnson in Rayor xvii-xix.

We do know that the literary context in which Sappho, like Alcaeus, was composing and performing was one in which epic poetry was thriving, particularly epic based on the Trojan Cycle. Lesches, to whom some have attributed the *Ilias Parva*, lived in Mytilene likely a generation or two before Sappho and Alcaeus.[43] But the younger poets, although they incorporated epic content and phrases in their songs, composed in a different genre, in different metres—the iambs and choriambic combinations we associate with Aeolic song, and in the Lesbian-Aeolic dialect.[44] Were they innovators? Denys Page followed the tradition of scholarship which saw Sappho adapting epic forms and vocabulary in a blend of the traditional and the novel; she reworked Homeric material to describe the passion of love, incorporating her own Lesbian vernacular (29-30). Although we are tempted to think of Homeric epic as the sole inspiration for her songs, we are limited in our knowledge of poetry antedating Sappho by what has survived in written form, namely this heroic verse in hexameters, largely Ionic in form. Current research suggests that the "novelty" of Sappho's and Alcaeus' use of their vernacular language and metres could be explained by a tradition of Aeolic epic older than the Ionic. While Sappho may have borrowed from the latter she might well have also inherited from the former.[45]

By the Hellenistic period Sappho had the reputation of being the female Homer (*Anth. Pal.* 9.26), a tribute to the quality of her poetic style, whether this was novel or traditional. What impressed later readers like Dionysius of Halicarnassus or 'Longinus' was her lyrical elegance and charm.[46] The fact that it was the charm of girls or women which inspired much of her verse was not overlooked by the ancients (for example, Himerius, *Or.* 28.2 = *test.* 50).

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[43] Eusebius gives his *floruit* as Ol. 30.3 (658/7).

[44] On the types of metres used by Sappho see Bowie 23-46, Nagy 1974, 134-135 and Page 114-116. On the dialect see above, p. 141, n. 18.

[45] R. Janko, in *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns. Diachronic development in epic diction* (Cambridge 1982), pp. 196-200, after a study of the linguistic, thematic and mythological features of surviving epic, summarized his conclusions with the claim that "Asiatic Aeolis was the area in which epic first evolved and matured during the Dark Ages, after it had been taken across the Aegean, presumably in the migrations of about 1000 B.C." Later it was influenced by the Ionic vernacular and its traditional diction, "after Homer or poets of equal greatness had conferred upon it overwhelming prestige" (p. 196).

[46] Dion. Hal. *Dem.* 40 (= *test.* 42), cf. Demetr. *Eloc.* 132 (= *test.* 45). See also the comments made on frr. 1 and 31 by Dionysius (*Comp.* 23) and Longinus (*de Subl.* 10.1-3), which are appended in Campbell's edition (1982) *ad loc.*

Since antiquity the appreciation for Sappho's poetic skill has not abated. Her ability to convey the present moment, with all its immediacy and tangibility, has long been admired (a quality which has led to "confessional" readings of her verses). This immersion in the present moment, however, still permits her to explore points distant in time and space which yield experiences no less tangible. Her vocabulary readily evokes the senses, whether used in descriptions of desire or for other themes. Flowers and incense add their fragrance (frr. 2, 81, 96), birds their song (frr. 135, 136). A modern study of her verses examines the incantatory power of its sounds; orally performed, her songs contained rhythm, repetition and alliteration like *thelxis*, the persuasive compulsion of love-charms. This was as true of the cletic hymns and wedding songs as it was of the love poems.[47] Her vocabulary is in tune with the sensuality and sensitivity of her narratives, with recurring words for gentleness and softness, like ἄβρος, ἆδυς, and ἄπαλος. It is possible that she was an innovator as a poet: her words to describe the bittersweet experience of love, like γλυκύπικρος or ἀλγεσίδωρος, may be neologisms[48] and her translation of epic vocabulary into an erotic setting may be new, if it is not the case that Sappho is drawing here upon another tradition of love poetry, and the vocabulary is shared by both genres.

The question of Sappho's use of "epic" vocabulary and imagery arises in fr. 1,[49] the only song of Sappho's which we can with confidence consider complete, cited in full by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as an example of polish, charm and euphony. Many readers have seen a formal parallel here between Sappho's appeal to Aphrodite and *Iliad* 5.115-120, where Diomedes calls upon Athene to become his ally in the fighting at Troy.[50] It also is reminiscent of the exchange between Aphrodite and Hera in *Iliad* 14.188-196, where Hera requests the *kestos* for her seduction of Zeus and is promised fulfilment of the petition. Sappho's fr. 1 is also

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[47] Segal 139-160. On the structural similarities between fr. 1 and magical spells see Graf 189.

[48] Lanata 74. On the Sapphic *topos* of γλυκύπικρος see A. Carson, *Eros The Bittersweet* (Princeton 1986).

[49] For a list of phrases found both here and in epic see Hooker 44. Rissman looks at vocabulary found in Sappho and epic, particularly in frr. 1, 16, 31 and 44, arguing that Sappho made conscious allusions to the military language of epic in her descriptions of love.

[50] For structural parallels between fr. 1 and other epic scenes see Williamson 161-163.

formally reminiscent of another genre, however, hymns of the cletic type, in which a divine figure is invoked with praise and a reminder of some past activities which denote a bond between the devotee and the god.[51] Its ritualistic language raises the question whether this is a serious appeal to divinity: is Sappho speaking as a postulant or even priestess, or is she merely using the ritual form as a literary device, in which a song of unrequited love is embedded? Behind this question lies the important consideration of the overall tone of the poem: how serious is it?[52] If it is a personal, not a ritual, call to Aphrodite, is it confessional? In a very real sense, the song could be either. If it were composed for a rite of Aphrodite, the focus of the poem is the epiphany of the goddess and a demonstration of her power. If it is a love poem, then the presence of the goddess represents the divine dimension and scale of the anguish and desire of a mortal lover. Sappho names herself in v. 20, lending credibility to the view that this is an autobiographical account. But the situation of the spurned lover is also a universal one, and the *persona* created by the poet, although bearing her name, might well have been composed to reflect the collective experience of Sappho's group or even lovers in general.

An attempt to attach this poem to Sappho's biography has generated some philological efforts to edit out the evidence for a love-relationship between "Sappho" and the other female in the poem. If there is an erotic relationship at stake here,[53] the question has centred on just who is to be led into the arms of whom. The song as it appears in the manuscripts of Dionysius of Halicarnassus presents some ambiguity at this point. The words κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα in

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[51] For a discussion of the hymnic form of the song, see Wilamowitz 1913: 42-46 and Cameron 1-17. Cameron argues that the form of the song is a stylistic blend, drawing on hymns, epic and love-magic texts (p. 9).

[52] For a discussion of the various positions taken on the question of the tone of this poem, see Stanley 305-321. It has been read as a serious and intimate prayer, with visionary overtones (Bowra, *GLP* 202), but also as "good-humoured raillery" (Page 15), or even sympotic (West 309-310). Stigers 1981: 53 combines the sacral and the personal: Aphrodite by her arrival grants Sappho a way of making manifest her own eroticism.

[53] Wilamowitz 1913: 46 read innocent friendship, φιλία, into the φιλότατα of v. 19. It is also possible that the relationship with the unresponsive woman/girl has political overtones. Political and love alliances were no doubt interconnected in 6th century Mytilene, and in fr. 1 the erotic ardour which cooled may have had larger implications, as seems to be the case with Mica's defection to the female Penthilid in fr. 71 (see Williamson 164 and Stehle 1997: 297-298).

the Adonic of v. 24,[54] if applied to the person who is the object of "Sappho's" petition, identify her as female, and this has generated much discussion whether the song contains a request for inducing a girl into a love-relationship with Sappho.[55] Those who assume that "Sappho's" desire is homoerotic read the unwillingness of the girl as a reluctance to be in a relationship with the poet, generating the specific prayer-request contained within the song.[56] But the girl's reluctance was in keeping with the conventions of love-relationships as described by other (male) Greek poets, and it is possible to interpret Sappho's petition as extending beyond the request for reciprocal love. She could be making the traditional plea for retaliation found in male love-poetry:[57] since there are no direct objects in the text for the verbs of fleeing and pursuing (v. 21), the chase may be unspecific; the girl's unwillingness could represent the perennial condition of the lover, caught in the toils of Aphrodite.[58] The general lack of specificity in the ode is a feature we find elsewhere in Sappho, a characteristic we do not find in Alcaeus, whose poetic characters are more firmly grounded in time and space.

Whatever the alliance with Aphrodite may represent, the song attests to the power of the goddess. ποικιλόθρον' (v. 1, "elaborately enthroned") is the choice of most modern editors,[59] and taken together with ἀθανάτ'...παῖ Δίος it emphasises her Olympian stature. We are reminded again of the superior status of Aphrodite by the

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[54] The manuscripts contain three different variants here, none of which satisfies dialect, metre and sense. κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα, the suggestion of Bergk in 1835, is now generally accepted.

[55] A. J. Beattie, for example (*CQ* n.s. 7 [1957]180-183), would detach the participle from the girl and connect it to Aphrodite, in an attempt to deny a homosexual relationship.

[56] Cameron 8-10, reads Sappho's petition like a magic spell, bringing on an epiphany of the goddess; Aphrodite's response results in the girl's compliance, whether or not she is willing.

[57] It is worth noting that the asymmetry in the love relationship assumed by this scenario is at odds with the reciprocal enjoyment found elsewhere in Sappho's lyrics. See on 94 and 96 below.

[58] A. Giacomelli, *TAPA* 110 (1980) 135-142, sees in Aphrodite's response the promise to compel the young beloved to grow into a woman who will suffer under the same compulsion of love as Sappho does at the moment. This is divine reciprocal justice, and Giacomelli cites parallels from elsewhere in Archaic and Hellenistic poetry.

[59] It occurs only here; ποικίλοφρον ("with various wiles") is found in some mss. of Dionysus. For debate about the meaning and text see *Lustrum* 35 (1993) 81-83.

verbal echo in the ἀθανάτωι προσώπωι of v. 14: there is a smile on the immortal face, reflecting the goddess' amusement at the lover's predicament described by Sappho. This is Page's view,[60] but taken together with the δολόπλοκε in the opening invocation ("weaver of wiles") it also reinforces Aphrodite's arbitrary control over the erotic activity of mortals. The echoes of battlefield scenes from the *Iliad* apply even more power to the goddess. Her strength is suggested by the parallel with Diomedes' ally Athena when Sappho invokes Aphrodite as σύμμαχος at the end of the song; it is also suggested by the (extended) description of her descent in the chariot drawn by swallows (vv. 7-12), which recalls the journey from Olympus of Hera and Athena to help the Greek warriors (*Iliad* 5.768-779). By suggesting another scene, the one in which Hera requests the *kestos* of Aphrodite, Sappho implies that the goddess is assuring her of sexual success.[61] The poet is applying selectivity in her choice of heroic material in non-heroic settings, however: we are not encouraged to recall the scene from *Iliad* 5 in which Aphrodite is wounded when she attempts to help her son, and the mocking and chastisement she incurs for meddling in warfare (327-430). Sappho imports the emotional strength from epic scenes without heroic display: the bonds of relationship, including those with a goddess, are uppermost.

Fragment 2 was discovered in Egypt in 1937, roughly inscribed on a pocket-sized piece of pottery. The writing has been dated to the beginning of the second or even the third century B.C., making it the oldest written record of Sappho. Like the first song, it is a hymn summoning Aphrodite. This time, however, the request is cast in terms that are more explicitly ritual in nature, asking the goddess to come to a sacred grove and join in a festivity by pouring a libation of nectar. Many have taken the song as an actual hymn which would have been performed in a specific shrine at an actual rite, but the sacred grove which provides the setting for the song, with its seasonally synchronic mix of spring flowers, apples and roses, is more ideal than real.[62] Is the idyllic setting the backdrop

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[60] Pp. 15-16. For various views of the meaning of Aphrodite's smile, see Mace 358, n. 74.

[61] Hooker 44 supplies the linguistic parallels between the two scenes.

[62] Not all readers have taken it this way. Page 40 was convinced by the detail of the description that the place is real. Lasserre 1989: 184-186 saw Sappho acting as the official priestess, or providing the musical prelude to an actual ceremony although in poetic terms which could transcend any specific

for an actual epiphany then, and if so, what does this mean? The festivity denoted by θαλίαισι might be akin to the Hesiodic celebrations (*Theog.* 64-65) enjoyed by the Muses and Graces with Himerus ("Desire") and the presence of Aphrodite in Sappho's song, taken together with the sensuousness of the atmosphere, implies an erotic ambience. This has been read as an elaborate metaphor for the lesbian sexual experience,[63] and one in which the sanctity of the space permits diffuse erotic arousal.[64]

In v. 8 Sappho describes a sleep of enchantment (κῶμα) distilled from the shimmering leaves of the trees above. This is in keeping with the trance-like mood of the setting,[65] where normal demarcations of time and space, of seasons, of activity and repose, are ignored, and it is fitting for the mystical nature of an encounter with a divine presence.[66] The fact that it is Aphrodite not Sappho who pours the libation, that the cups are golden (the colour of divine attributes) and that the contents are nectar and not wine imply this transcendence.

In fragments 5 and 15 we find details which we can attach to the historical life of Sappho with a certain degree of confidence. Like frr. 1 and 2, fr. 5 was composed in the form of a hymn, requesting of Aphrodite[67] and the Nereids a safe and successful return of a brother from a voyage. The prayer also includes a request for the rehabilitation of this brother, including his making amends for past mistakes which have brought shame upon his

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rite. Merkelbach 26-29 described this as one of the poetic "Nymphengärten," flowery precincts of female divinities such as were described by Ibycus and Theocritus. West 317 saw the idyllic setting as the *locus* for Sappho and her companions to enjoy a picnic, one which would be capped by the presence of Aphrodite. Others have seen parallels between this description and images of paradise.

63 Winkler 186.

64 Stigers 1977: 92-93: "The sanctuary, a sacred place, is inviolable, yet it is a fit spot for Aphrodite's visit, responsive to love. Integrity and eroticism combine in the locus itself."

65 Snyder 1989: 17 describes the sensuality of the description as hypnotic, heightened by the preponderance of *s* sounds in the Greek.

66 Robbins 1995: 234-236 points out the similarity between this and the work of other mystic poets. Gentili 50 comments that epiphanies and dream visions are a striking feature of Sappho's poetry, particularly when she is invoking Aphrodite. It is Aphrodite's presence which dominates the song: the description of the grove is rich with attributes associated with her, and even the κῶμα suggests her handiwork: the drowsiness is a trance induced by a divine power whose effects embrace love and sleep (Williamson 143).

67 The supplement Κύπρι καὶ (v. 1) was provided by Smyth, justified by the address to the Cyprian goddess in v. 18.

sister. These are details for which we appear to have some historical corroboration. Herodotus (2.134-135) refers to a woman named Rhodopis who came to Egypt as a slave-prostitute, and was ransomed at a high price by Sappho's brother Charaxus, who was in Naucratis doing commerce in wine. Upon obtaining her freedom, Rhodopis, called by Sappho Doricha[68] (Strabo 17.808), became extremely wealthy. Herodotus adds that Sappho chastised her brother at some length in her poetry after his return. This form of public poetic criticism with a corrective force is consistent with the tradition that Sappho composed iambic verse,[69] and the evidence has also been used to assume that she possessed some authority as a mouthpiece for morality in Mytilene.[70]

Fr. 15 also contains a prayer to Aphrodite to address the problem of Charaxus. This time the goddess is asked to deal harshly with Doricha, and to ensure that the woman not flaunt her successes with Charaxus on a second occasion. Once again, we may ask whether these two songs were actual prayers. They could have been composed by Sappho and presented publicly at a temple, perhaps with an offering to secure some success. This is a possible reading, one which seems more likely than is the case with the prayers to Aphrodite discussed above, but it is also possible that Sappho incorporated these prayers into literary form, to be sung on occasions which were not strictly ritual.[71]

Fragment 16 opens with a priamel, a catalogue of parallel items leading up to a climactic statement.[72] Sappho's list enumerates

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[68] As Page points out (49, n. 1) Rhodopis ("Rose-face") may have been a name acquired for professional reasons.

[69] The *Suda* mentions this (*test.* 2) as did Philodemus (*de poem.* 2, fr. 29, p. 252 Hausrath).

[70] The irony of this is not missed by some scholars (see Page 51 and n. 3). In fact, the 'morality' she enjoins is part of the Archaic aristocratic code embraced by poets like Archilochus and Theognis (cf. Archil. fr. 126: ἓν δ' ἐπίσταμαι μέγα / τὸν κακῶς <μ'> ἔρδοντα δεινοῖς ἀνταμείβεσθαι κακοῖς or his fr. 23, in which he professes that in not being a δειλός he knows that one befriends a friend and is hateful to those who are hateful). The sentiment was still alive in the 5th century, and dominates the crucial scene in Sophocles' *Ajax* in which Ajax struggles with the fact that political opportunism has blurred the distinction between enemies and friends (vv. 678-682). In fr. 5 Sappho is suggesting that her brother has forgotten the aristocratic code which, as Alcaeus reminds us, had critical implications in Mytilene: one must observe clan loyalties above all others.

[71] Some, like Bowra, *GLP* 210-211, read fr. 5 as a *propemptikon*, a genre of verse whose theme is primarily the wish for a fair voyage.

[72] On the priamel in Classical literature see Race, W. H., *The Classical*

things which are generally regarded as beautiful, a parade of Lydian cavalry or infantry, or a display of ships. These are superseded by the capping statement that "whatever one loves" is the most beautiful. The example given of this choice is Helen, paradigmatic beauty and paradigmatic lover. Many see here a gendered choice, between admiration of military prowess on the one hand, and of human beauty which provokes desire on the other. The latter choice is one which differs sharply from the epic view of what is valuable.[73] Sappho's epic selectivity focussed on the strength, not the destructive power, of Helen's passion. It led Helen to abandon husband and family for the Trojan prince;[74] the scope of her passion is measured by its causing the violation of Helen's other emotional attachments, rather than the human carnage at Troy, as we find elsewhere in Archaic literature.[75] Helen's passion is followed in the song by a description of the absent Anactoria. This is a girl who was regarded in the ancient tradition as a beloved or a pupil of Sappho.[76] Is this, then, a love-song? The longing of the speaker to see Anactoria seems to indicate that it is. Is Sappho the speaker? The ἔγω of v. 3 has been understood to refer to the poet, but we cannot rule out the possibility that it is a *persona* of Sappho's creation.

The structure of the poem has been the focus of a certain amount of attention, particularly in light of Page's remark that the move from the priamel through Helen to Anactoria was "perhaps not

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Priamel from Homer to Boethius (Leiden 1982).

[73] duBois 96, writes: "Sappho's poem, although not a narrative, in fact reverses the pattern of oral literature, of the Homeric poems, men trading women, men moving past women." duBois sees Helen as an "actant" in her own life, the subject of a choice, "exemplary in her desiring." Others see a parallel here in the feelings of passion, men for war, women for someone they love.

[74] Because of the lacuna in vv. 12-16 we cannot be sure of the subject of παράγαγ' ("led astray," v. 12), and therefore just whom Sappho regarded as responsible for Helen's defection. Candidates who have been suggested include Paris, Aphrodite and *eros*.

[75] Alcaeus' view (frr. 42, 283) is the common one: her monumental passion led to monumental disaster. Sappho concentrates instead on the separation, the departure and the journey, marks of ὄττω τις ἔραται: Helen, *leaving* her family, *went* to Troy *by sailing* (v. 9).

[76] Ovid, *Her.* 15.17 (= *test.* 19) and Max. Tyr. *Or.* 18.9 (= *test.* 20). Anagora, named by the *Suda* as one of the pupils of Sappho (*test.* 2) is regularly identified with Anactoria (Page 135, n. 1). The tradition may well have constructed the relationship out of a reading of the poetry, without external evidence.

very adroitly managed" (p. 56). Sappho's defenders have argued that if one looks for associations and images, rather than strict logic, the poem becomes coherent.[77] The stylistic motif of lightness and movement has been admired as a unifying force in the poem, tying together the imagery of the movement of troops and ships with the departure of Helen and the footstep of Anactoria, and reflecting the kinetic force of desire which motivates this imagery. The absence of Anactoria is given a structural prominence in the song and, like Helen's absence, it draws attention to her supreme value and the pain of losing her. The re-creation of her presence in song would at once revive this pain and act as its consolation.

Fragment 31 is perhaps the most famous single poem to come from Greek antiquity. It was transferred to the *milieu* of the male poet-lover, and is echoed by other poets,[78] including the famous re-working in Catullus 51. Describing, as 'Longinus' noted in his introduction to the poem, ἐρωτικαὶ μανίαι ("erotic madness"), Sappho managed to capture symptoms which were as familiar to men as to women. The success of her portrayal here of the deepest and most exquisite tortures of the love-experience helps to account for the poem's popularity during the Renaissance,[79] and its popularity has not abated, judging from the amount of modern scholarship on the poem.[80]

The interpretations have been as varied as they have been numerous. Some take the focus of the song to be the man, others

[77] Snyder 1989: 23-24 provides a strong defence, arguing that the emphasis of the song is on the concept of τὸ κάλλιστον, the power of whatever is the most beautiful, and that Helen, as the most beautiful woman in the world, is the supreme exemplum of beauty. The myth of Helen does not "prove" the thesis of the song, but incorporates all the elements in the priamel, and provides the poem with a foil for the speaker's own redefinition of τὸ κάλλιστον. Winkler 177-178 reads it as a "parody of logical argumentation" in which Sappho exposes the paradoxes of the male value system which condemned Helen. Most 1981: 15-16 argues for the relevance of Sappho's Helen as supremely beautiful and above moral censure, therefore best able to judge what is truly beautiful. For other views of the association between Sappho, Helen and Anactoria, see Most 1981: 11-17 and Burnett 288, n. 30.

[78] The passages regularly cited as bearing influence from Sappho fr. 31 include Theocritus *Id.* 2. 106-108, Lucretius 3.154-156 and Horace, *Odes* 1.22.23-24. For arguments against a direct echo in Lucretius, see E. J. Kenney, ed. *Lucretius. De Rerum Natura Book III* (Cambridge 1971) *ad loc.*

[79] De Jean 34-35 describes the dramatic effect of the first French translation and the numerous adaptations and imitations which followed in the sixteenth century.

[80] Calculating from the most recent *Lustrum* survey alone, there were 131 articles focussing on this poem in the 70 years between 1922 and 1992.

the woman, still others Sappho, and for some it is the audience. A few have had an open-ended reading of the poem, and see it embracing all four.

The determination to identify the "occasion" of the poem, a quest which dominated readings of Archaic Greek poetry until recently, fixed initially on the possibility that the setting was a wedding.[81] Denys Page rejected the epithalamial setting for the poem, in which he felt that Sappho's outpourings would be highly inappropriate, but he focussed upon the significance of the man's presence (p. 31). Sappho was simply jealous of the attention a man received from a girl. The jealousy-thesis has had many adherents.[82] One of its most vigorous supporters reads Sappho's words as clinical symptoms of homosexual jealousy.[83] Most readers have now returned to the context presented by 'Longinus'—erotic madness, and the dynamic between the girl and the speaker. The sight of the girl provokes the speaker's response. Somehow, though, the man's presence is a component of this response:[84] his strength and felicity could be a projection of the intense love felt by the speaker for the girl, or (with his god-like calmness) he is acting as a foil for the speaker's very different reactions, the real focus of the song.[85]

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[81] Wilamowitz 1913: 56-58 initiated this view, and was followed by Snell 71-90. (Snell retracted this claim in a postscript to the article when reprinted in his *Gesammelte Schriften* [Göttingen 1966] 97.) For a list of those who agreed with and those who refuted the epithalamial context for the song see Page 30, n. 2. and Burnett 232-233, n. 5. Bowra, in the first edition of *Greek Lyric Poetry* (1936), supported the wedding setting because only there would a girl be free to sit and converse with a man in public. He modified his view in the second edition of his book (p. 187) where he read it as a love-poem.

[82] For a list of the adherents see Burnett 232, n. 3. The fact that jealousy is transparent in Catullus' imitation of the song has no doubt played a part in this reading of the poem.

[83] Sappho suffered from "phallic awe" (Devereux 17-31). Reactions to this article have been heated. See Burnett 232, n. 4.

[84] The presence of the man, represented by the definite pronoun κῆνος in v. 1, seems to be offset by the generalizing effect of the relative pronoun ὄττις in v. 2 (cf. fr. 16.3). (That this reflects the fact that the scene is the result of a poetic construction by Sappho, rather than her description of an actual event was suggested by J. Latacz in *MH* 42 [1985] 81-84.) The detachment from a particular incident is also expressed by the general temporal clause ὠς γὰρ <ἔς> σ' ἴδω in v. 7 (see below, n. 85).

[85] The immediate cause of the emotional reaction described by Sappho is expressed by the relative pronoun τό (v. 6). To what does this pronoun refer? Is it the voice and/or laughter of the girl, which immediately precedes the pronoun, or is it the entire vignette of the couple just sketched? Little help is found in what follows in the first part of v. 7, with the explanatory γάρ. The oldest ms of 'Longinus' gives us the unmetrical ὠς γὰρ σἴδω, and various

Plutarch had understood it this way, describing the emotional reactions as those precipitated by the appearance of a girl beloved (*Amat.* 763).[86]

The question of the *persona* of the speaker cannot be ignored when considering the circumstances which gave rise to this poem. From antiquity until recently the emotions which Sappho describes have been assigned to the poet herself. 'Longinus' preserves these verses for us because he was impressed by the compression of these dramatic and contradictory feelings which the poet is able to detach from herself, writing of Sappho as though it were she herself who experienced them. The personal, confessional nature of her description, taken up by Catullus in his imitation, encourages a biographical reading of the song, but readers have now begun to question this. Sappho does not name herself here, as she did in the first poem, which is similarly confessional in nature, but even those who read the poem as biographical acknowledge that the symptoms she describes are, for the most part, also found in epic.[87]

The fragmentary fifth stanza[88] has raised questions about the ending of the poem. Having claimed that her emotions have brought her to the point of death, the speaker seems to rally herself in an exhortation to endure. The φαίνομ' of v. 16 may be a structural word, in ring-composition with the φαίνεται of the opening verse.[89]

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attempts have been made to resolve it (see Most 1995: 30, n. 72). Voigt prints Edmonds' ὡς γάρ <ἔς> σ' ἴδω, a reading which has found general acceptance, and by representing the girl between the tmesis, focuses on her as the cause of the physical reaction. Most 1995: 28-30 has recently argued for the situation to be left ambiguous, in keeping with the unspecified τό of v. 5: he proposes ὡς γάρ εἰσίδω, "whenever I see." (There are antecedents for εἰσοράω used intransitively, e.g., *Il.* 14.153, but this use is far less common.)

Stehle 1990: 107 points out the shifting nature of the gaze in the poem, as Sappho manoeuvres the attention of the audience from the man to the woman then finally "to the ambiguous position of both sharing the narrator's experience and watching her." Carson (above, note 48) 85 writes about these poetic powers as Sappho's description of the vertigo we experience with passion, the "sudden sense of being very close to the core where feelings form." Fr. 31, by its emotional and poetic power, draws the audience into a triangular configuration, consisting of the girl, the man and Sappho.

[86] In addition, we have the parallel for ἐπτόαισεν (v. 6) in fr. 22.14, used of the excitement aroused in one woman by the appearance of another.

[87] The principal passages are cited by Page 29-30, who finds in Sappho's description a blend of traditional and novel elements.

[88] The restoration of v. 16 has been made possible by a papyrus fragment published in 1965. See Koniaris 173, n. 1.

[89] The structural parallel was first emphasized by Wilamowitz (1913: 57).

But the repetition of this word also underscores the tension between self and non-self, and between appearance and reality in the ode. It was Sappho's detachment from the self that struck Longinus. And is the man really god-like, or does he just appear to be? Is Sappho really close to death, or is her self-awareness a sign of her vitality? The strong adversative ἀλλά, which begins the last surviving verse (17, as quoted by 'Longinus') appears to begin a contrasting section in which her endurance is assured.

The sophistication of the song defies a single interpretation, and we must acknowledge the possibility that there are several resonances operating at once.[90] The fact that it is one of the more complete and the most celebrated songs of Sappho that we possess, yet remains as elusive as it does, is significant.

Fragment 94, like fr. 31, expresses the pain of separation, but the speaker's rôle is quite different. The departure of a beloved provokes a cry of despair, which opens the song as we have it. The speaker, identified as "Sappho," responds to this despair by recounting episodes during the life shared by the two women in the past, moments which were filled with joy. This narrative, which provides the major focus of the song, counterbalances the grief expressed at the beginning, an expressed wish to die.

The fragmentary opening leaves us uncertain whose voice emits the outburst "Honestly, I wish I were dead!" If it is "Sappho's" cry, then what follows—the narration of the sensual pleasures shared by the two in the past—serves as self-consolation for "Sappho" in her present pain.[91] If instead it is the departing beloved who is in a state of despair, then the speaker's words are offering comfort to her, rather than to herself: the poet constructs herself as one who has recovered from the separation and proceeds to recall past joys with equanimity.[92] This reading, of a calm

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Robbins (1980) 259-61 points out the rôle that can be played by the γάρ of v. 7, with this understanding of the poem: it links the two occurrences of φαίνεσθαι, and can be relieved of the burden of explaining how the sight of the couple upsets her. (In addition, it need not now reconcile with the foregoing scene the recurring symptoms reflected by the subjunctive ἴδω.)

[90] Privitera 1969: 46-59, 68, refers to "il gioco elusivo" ("the elusive playfulness") of the song.

[91] The most detailed defense of the attribution of the death-wish to "Sappho" in fr. 94 is given by Robbins 1990: 111-121.

[92] This is the position taken, for example, by Burnett 293-295, who argues that the calm Sappho-lover is teaching a lesson by invoking shared memories, reasoning away the distress of the beloved.

"Sappho"-lover, would differ sharply from the "I" of fr. 31 who finds herself near death. It also reads into the narrative of fr. 94 a difference between the rôles played by lover and beloved that is at odds with the mutuality of the suffering referred to in v. 4 (δεῖνα πεπ[όνθ]αμεν), the shared joys of v. 11 (κάλ' ἐπάσχομεν) or the common activities described in vv. 25 ff. The two positions need not exclude one another, of course: consolation offered to the beloved could be effective in comforting the "Sappho"-speaker, and vice-versa. By posturing as one who shares the acute pain of separation as well as the joys in recollection she reinforces the mutuality of their emotional life.

That "Sappho's" catalogue of their joint pleasures functions as consolation in the song seems apparent. But the sequence of pain/pleasure is filled with a tactile sensuality that is engaging in its own right.[93] The beloved is wreathed in garlands of flowers and anointed with perfume, and "desire is satisfied on soft couches," making this possibly the most explicit reference to homosexual love-making in the surviving remnants of Sappho's poetry.[94] The fragmentary verses that follow (24 ff.) appear to refer to holy places and ritual activities, and have been taken to anchor the entire song in an autobiographical account of life in a *thiasos*.[95] The activities may indeed derive from collective activities in ritual, but the details are compiled in order to focus not on the sacred as much as on the togetherness of the two women, made clear by "no holy place from which we were absent" (vv. 25-26). The whole description is generalized. This belongs to a world re-created in the imagination, timeless as we move with the poet's recollection backward from the present to the near-past and then to the more remote past.[96] It is in this world that wishes are fulfilled, that Aphrodite returns, that pain is healed. The wish to die is confined

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93 Fränkel, *EGPP* 178: "The distress of parting from a beloved girl is bound up in the song with the sweet pleasure of memory. The two emotions do not fuse into a gentle melancholy, but each is savoured in turn."

94 See the discussion in McEvilley 2-3. The similarity of the expression to the Homeric γόου ἐξ ἔρον εἵην, referring to the satisfaction of the desire for grieving, strengthens the case for its referring to satisfaction in loving. Until we can fill in the lacuna in the line, however, the claim remains provisional.

95 Wilamowitz 1913: 50-52, Bowra, *GLP* 191.

96 This triple-tiered interpretation of the time-sequence was first proposed by Schadewaldt 1936: 363-365. It is valid only if the first surviving verse is not a narrative belonging to the past.

to the present; it is transcended by a journey to the inner space of the poetic imagination.

In fragment 96 once again longing for lost intimacy is at the centre of the song. This one comes from the same parchment as fr. 94 and like fr. 94 was composed in stanzas of three verses each, based on glyconic cola. Its emotional tenor also resembles fr. 94, in that pain in the present contrasts with joys from the past. The scenario is constructed upon an absence now, not an imminent departure. The speaker is not named, and the other two players appear to consist of Atthis and a woman now in Lydia. In the first seven stanzas Sappho constructs an imaginary scene in which the woman wanders to and fro in Lydia, shining in her beauty like the moon among the stars, but consumed by grief as she recalls Atthis. After v. 20 the focus seems to shift to a more generalized reflection about the folly of comparing human beauty to divine, then from the scant remains of the remaining verses we can only gather a few hints of some festivity related to Aphrodite and Peitho.

Most readers have dwelt with admiration on the memorable and extensive simile of the moon. It is "rose-fingered" like the Homeric dawn, an epithet inappropriate in this context for colour, but fitting for the orb which makes the roses bloom (v. 13). The moon "stands out" like the woman in Lydia, surpassing the stars in its light; it spreads over land and sea, shedding dew and causing roses and other flowers to bloom.[97] After the simile Sappho presents the image of the woman wandering in melancholy grief as she recalls Atthis. The brightness of the moon and its power are a clear tribute to the woman's beauty and the desire it provokes as she moves. The lushness of nature stimulated by the moon's brilliance mirrors the richness of the emotions aroused by the recollection of woman's beauty, but the experience is bitter-sweet. The song highlights the poignancy of desire unfulfilled. Our attention is directed with Atthis towards Lydia and the woman walking in moonlight, but the expressed desire belongs to the

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[97] Roses for the early Greeks suggested beauty, fragrance and softness, qualities admired in women, hence appropriate for Sappho, Aphrodite and the moon. See Irwin 1-14, especially 6-8. The belief that the moon caused the dew to fall is reflected in the genealogy recorded by Alcman (fr. 57 *PMG*) in which Selene is the mother of Dew. In fr. 96, as the rose-fingered moonlight spreads it causes the dew to stimulate the blooming of roses, bringing the image of roses full-circle.

woman in Lydia, and its direction is back towards Mytilene and Atthis. The song resonates with contrapuntal voices of desire.

Was the song intended to provide consolation for Atthis? The case is less clear than with fr. 94. The grief of Atthis is not made explicit in the poem as we have it; we infer this from the separation. The dominant imagery is rich but clearly grows from a sense of loss. Perhaps emphasizing the woman's pain brings comfort to Atthis as she senses that her distress is shared, just as the lover affirmed in fr. 94 with δεῖνα πεπ[όνθ]αμεν. Or is the song primarily a song of praise for both women, a *makarismos*? Both women appear to be awarded near-divine status,[98] and in the fragmentary section which follows immediately after v. 20, it seems that the concern is with rivalling goddesses in beauty.[99] Whatever Sappho's purpose was in composing this song, her dramatic scenario has set it free from any claims that it is an autobiographical sketch and, like the simile of the moon, it transcends space and time to evoke in its listeners the deepest echoes of erotic longing.

The sense of timelessness, and the contrapuntal and responsive voices of desire that Sappho includes in frr. 94 and 96 were missing in fr. 31, the song that focussed on one person's excitement and distress in the (poetic) present. In fr. 31 it is the fracture between the speaker and the other woman which is explored, represented somewhat enigmatically by the presence of the "godlike" man. Recently, the idea that the occasion provoking this song was a wedding has been raised again;[100] grooms like brides were often described in terms appropriate to divinity and both are praised in the opening vignette. The *makarismos* of the bridal couple in Greek wedding songs did not disguise the fact that marriage entailed a loss for the bride, a rupture of the closeness between mother and daughter and between female friends. Both elements, the conventional praise and the human cost, are found in Sappho's epithalamia.

Her wedding songs were famous in antiquity,[101] and some of

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[98] The phrase θεασικελαν ἀριγνωτα (v. 4) is corrupt, but suggests that the woman in Lydia likened Atthis to a god. The woman herself is compared to the moon which has divine powers of nurturing growth.

[99] Some prefer to end the song after v. 20. For a list of these proponents see Burnett 310, n. 93.

[100] Williamson 158.

[101] Himerius (*Or.* 9.4 = fr. 194) seems to suggest that Sappho was *the* epithalamial poet. On the wedding-song in antiquity see Contiades-Tsitsoni

the images from her extant verses are found in Catullus. From the content of the fragmentary remains, as well as the title, we assume that these were performed at actual wedding ceremonies, and some of these appear to belong to specific moments in the ritual. Some reflect the jesting that offset the praise of bride and groom, deflecting the charge of *hybris* which would result from this praise. This teasing was often sexual, in keeping with the occasion and performing the function of warding off evil spirits. The style bears some resemblance to folk-song, with repetitions and graphic images drawn from the natural world, but these reflect the same Sapphic sensitivity to nature as she expressed by the moon simile of fr. 96.

Fr. 104a is a two-line fragment, addressing the Evening Star, Hesperus, who brings the animals back to the penfold at nightfall. He also "brings back" a child to its mother or (translating φέρηις ... ἄπυ as "lead away"[102]) he removes the girl from home: Hesperus plays the rôle of transferring the young bride away from her mother to her groom's house on the evening of her wedding. Catullus incorporated this event into his wedding song, poem 62, where an amoebean chorus of girls and boys react with sadness and joy respectively to this departure of the girl from her home. Sappho's fr. 105a gives us the memorable image of the apple ripening on the top of the highest branch of a tree, left by apple-pickers because they could not reach it. Himerius (*Or.* 9.16) read this as a reference to a bride whom the pickers were anxious to grab before she reached the age of marriage. Modern readers have attempted to read it otherwise; some assume the song was composed from the girl's perspective and connect the inaccessible apple with her resistance to men.[103] We find this resistance elsewhere in Sappho, expressed in a plea for virginity. Fr. 44a[104] contains a vignette of the girl Artemis asking Zeus for perpetual virginity as her privilege. Fr. 107 consists of the plaintive cry "Do I still long for virginity?" Even more sriking is the short dialogue between a bride and her virginity, fr. 114: the girl cries out, "Virginity,

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and Hague 131-143.

[102] Either translation is possible, but the second would fit the context more directly and poignantly. See Griffith 56 and n. 11.

[103] This and other views are summarized by Griffith 55.

[104] This fragment is assigned to Alcaeus by Page (261-264), but Voigt retains it in the Sapphic corpus. Philostratus *VA* 1.30 refers to a hymn to Artemis by Sappho.

virginity, where have you gone, deserting me?" The poetic reply makes it clear that never, never again will virginity return. This expressed resistance to male sexuality has coloured readings of a fragment with another memorable image taken from the natural world, that of the hyacinth trampled underfoot by shepherds, fragment 105b. Catullus appears to echo this in the girls' refrain in his poem 62, where the destroyed blossom represents a girl's defiled body. It seems likely enough that the Greek prototype also referred to lost virginity, whether in a hymeneal setting or prematurely.[105]

Fr. 115 honours the groom by comparing him to a tender sapling; fr. 111, which begins with the words "Raise high the roof-beams, carpenter!" may be a reference not only to the groom's height but his ithyphallic state. Rough jesting was known to take place during the procession from the bride's house to that of her new husband, and the fragments may have been composed for this stage of the ritual. Fr. 110 exaggerates the size of the feet of the door-keeper. This could refer to the next stage in the wedding procession, a mock-resistance to the groom's abduction of his new bride at the door of her marital house. More gentle praise is found in fr. 112, where both partners are honoured for their beauty and felicity.

Fr. 44 consists of 35 lines, an epic narration in glyconic metres expanded by dactyls.[106] The fragment describes the arrival of Hector's bride Andromache at Troy. Because of its epic features it has somewhat reluctantly been assigned to Sappho, but has now found general acceptance as providing a mythical prototype for an actual wedding processional on Lesbos.[107] The sights and sounds of the event are described in sequence, as if the listener were present, watching the colours and textures of the robes and the wedding accoutrements as they passed by, and listening to the instruments and voices of the musicians. The whole is presented in such a way

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[105] The context for fr. 105b has not been provided as it was in the case of fr. 105a (when Himerius named the apple as a simile for a bride), nor do we have a firm ascription to Sappho, although this seems likely. The occurrence of οἷον/οἷαν in each of these two fragments, together with their dactylic metre suggests that they, like Catullus' imitation, may have formed a hymeneal refrain.

[106] On the literary development which may have resulted in Sappho's framing an epic narrative in this metre, see Bowie 32-40, Hooker 56-58 and 78-79, and Nagy 1974: 118-139.

[107] For a history of the debate over its ascription to Sappho see Burnett 219, n. 25.

that the song could be endlessly repeated, for the pleasure of a long line of spectators: at the coronis marking the end of the song is the announcement of the story just told, a song praising Hector and Andromache. This allows the song to begin again. A particularly Sapphic touch can be felt in the γλυκύπικρος framing of the song in its full epic context. The listeners, like modern readers, could not embrace the joy of this present moment without hearing in the background the maddened grief of Andromache's lament as she cradles the head of her husband after he was killed by Achilles (*Il.* 24.725-745).[108]

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[108] The poignancy in the juxtaposition of these two scenes is brought out by Robbins 1995: 230-231. Once again, we encounter Sappho's selectivity in an epic recollection. It is not Hector's heroism which is in the background, but a woman's love.

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IBYCUS[1]

Life

Ibycus was born in Magna Graecia, in Rhegium, during the first half of the sixth century B.C. At some point he moved to the Ionian island of Samos where, like his slightly younger contemporary Anacreon, he composed songs under the patronage of the tyrant Polycrates. Obtaining a coherent picture of the *floruit* of the poet and the tyrant has been a challenge for readers of Ibycus, for the ancient sources present conflicting evidence.[2]

There are basically two chronological periods given for the life of Ibycus, one in the first half of the 6th century and one in the second. The *Suda* tells us that Ibycus moved to Samos in the 54th Olympiad (564/1 B.C.) during the reign of the Lydian king Croesus.[3] Eusebius, however, gives the date of the move as a generation later, the 60th Olympiad (540/39 B.C., TA 2). The issue is further complicated by another detail in the *Suda* entry on Ibycus, where it suggests that there was not one Polycrates but two. Ibycus, it states, came to Samos ὅτε αὐτῆς ἦρχεν ὁ Πολυκράτης τοῦ τυράννου πατήρ ("when Polycrates was ruling it, father of the tyrant"). When we turn to Herodotus, who lived in Samos as a young man, the picture is no clearer. We read (3.39-44) that the name of the father of the tyrant Polycrates was Aeaces, and that the rule of Polycrates definitely belongs to the later period, coinciding with that of the son of Cyrus, Cambyses (c. 530-522 B.C.). Herodotus does not imply that the tyranny on Samos involved dynastic succession from father to son, for he adds the detail that Polycrates took control of Samos in a coup (ἐπαναστάς). He ruled initially with his two brothers, then took over as sole tyrant after murdering one and

[1] The numbering of the testimonia and fragments will follow that of Davies, *PMGF*.

[2] For a discussion of the sources for the chronology of Ibycus, Anacreon and Polycrates see Mosshammer, *Chronicle* 290-304. He acknowledges the complexity of analyzing the evidence as a task "more arachnean than one would like" (291).

[3] *Test.* TA1. Croesus reigned in Sardis from c. 560 until the city fell to Cyrus in 547/6.

exiling the other. The date given by Eusebius for this insurrection, 533/32, is consistent with the account of Herodotus.

To make sense of the *Suda* entry as it stands, that Ibycus came to Samos during the tyranny of Polycrates, father of the tyrant, one has to assume either that Polycrates-the-tyrant had a son-tyrant of the same name, or that a son bearing another name became tyrant after him. The latter is ruled out because we know that the tyranny of Samos ended with Polycrates' death at the hands of the Persians in c. 522. Those who adopt the former position, that there were two tyrants named Polycrates,[4] find support in Himerius (*Or.* 31.4) who refers to Polycrates "king of Samos" and his control over the surrounding area, then to "Polycrates of Rhodes," who applied to his father to obtain a musical tutor. One way to read this is to assume that the thalassocracy of the first Polycrates enabled him to place his son and namesake as governor of one of the subdued islands, Rhodes. The "father" in question is not named explicitly as Polycrates, however, and it is also possible to assume that Himerius was referring to one Polycrates, tyrant of Samos who, when a youth, was stationed in Rhodes and requested from his father on Samos (Aeaces?) a musical tutor.[5] The received text of the *Suda,* ὁ Πολυκράτης τοῦ τυράννου πατήρ is not the normal Greek way of expressing the idea that father and son held the same name, and an easy alteration of the nominative to the genitive produces the more natural ὁ Πολυκράτους τοῦ τυράννου πατήρ, ("father of the tyrant Polycrates"). This preserves the tradition recorded by Herodotus in which there was only one tyrant called Polycrates, whose father was Aeaces.[6] One could then assume with Herodotus, Thucydides (1.13.6) and Eusebius that Ibycus enjoyed the patronage of Polycrates in the later period.

Probably apocryphal is the story that Ibycus chose to leave Rhegium rather than to become its tyrant, a choice derided by later Greeks who saw in the proverb "more old-fashioned than Ibycus,"

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[4] See, for example, Gerber 207, Barron 1964: 210-212, 223, Sisti 1966: 91-102, Bowra 375-378.

[5] This possibility is raised by Woodbury 210-211. Mosshammer, *Chronicle* 302 makes the attractive suggestion that the sources for the *Suda* implied only that the father of Polycrates acted as the tyrant's mentor, not his predecessor. This is easier to reconcile with the Herodotean tradition that Polycrates gained power through a coup.

[6] The alteration to Πολυκράτους was first made by Schmid and receives strong endorsement from Woodbury 208, West 1970: 208 and Page 170.

a reference to his stupidity in turning his back on the tyranny (Diogen. *Paroem.* 2.71, 5.12).[7] Possibly he spent some time in Sicyon before leaving for Samos, since some of his mythological references have local, Sicyonian, relevance, and can be accounted for by reading into them the poet's active political support for Sicyon in its alliance with Sparta against Argos and Athens.[8] An anonymous poem from the *Palatine Anthology* (7.714, TA 10) reads like a grave-epigram, recording the burial of Ibycus back in Rhegium under an elm tree. Like Anacreon, he may have left Samos after the murder of Polycrates in 522, and returned home. The *Suda* and a poem in the *Anthology* by Antipator of Sidon (7. 745, TA5) record the legend of his death at the hands of murderers in a desolate place, where he called upon cranes flying overhead to avenge his murder. This call was successful, and gave rise to another proverbial phrase associated with the poet, "the cranes of Ibycus."[9]

Poetry

The Alexandrian editor of Ibycus arranged his work in 7 books, according to the *Suda*, where the language is described as being in the Doric dialect, a legacy of his Western Greek origins. His predecessor in Magna Graecia was Stesichorus, and in several ways one can see that they belong to the same poetic tradition. Like Stesichorus he incorporated epic language, myth and mythic cycles within a lyric framework. Several of the surviving fragments could belong to an *Ilioupersis*,[10] and a few to a *Geryoneis*,[11] both of which were mythic cycles incorporated in the songs of Stesichorus.[12] From the longest fragment (S 151) we can see that,

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[7] The story may have arisen from a reading of some detail in one of his poems, for example fr. 310: "I fear lest by sinning in some way before the gods I get in return honour from men."

[8] On this see Bowra, *GLP* 246-247 and Barron 1969: 136-137.

[9] TA 7. Other testimonies to the "cranes of Ibycus" are collected by Davies, TA 5-TA 9.

[10] The topic occurs in the famous fr. S151 (see below), but mythical elements from the story occur in fragments S224, 285, 293, 295, 296, 297, 303a and 319.

[11] For example, S176, S223 and 332.

[12] The similarity in their choice and handling of myth led to uncertainty in antiquity about the ascription of unidentified songs. Athenaeus (4.172d)

like Stesichorus, he worked within the triadic structure which has until recently been associated with choral lyric.[13] Fragment S 151, in which a catalogue of epic heroes precedes a tribute to the beauty of Polycrates, foreshadows the epinician odes of the next century, where mythic narratives enlarge the scope of praise of an individual, and Ibycus stands in a tradition that looks backward to Stesichorus and forward to Pindar and Bacchylides.[14]

It was not for mythic archetypes that Ibycus gained his reputation as a poet in antiquity. Rather, his name was associated with love-songs for young boys. The *Suda* describes him as "utterly crazed with love for boys" (ἐρωτομανέστατος περὶ μειράκια, TA1), and Cicero says that, more than Alcaeus and Anacreon, Ibycus was aflame with love for boys, "as was clear from his writings" (*apparet ex scriptis, Tusc. Disp.* 4. 71, TB2). In his love-poetry Ibycus displays some of the rich sensitivity of Sappho and Alcaeus, with a keen response to the imagery provided by the natural world. Fr. S257(a), for example, has a strong Sapphic colouring, with references to rose-buds, a temple of Aphrodite, fragrant garlands, and personal longing.

In the last century Schneidewin, in his edition of Ibycus, proposed that there were two stages in Ibycus' poetical career, corresponding to his two primary locations. The first phase reflected his life in Rhegium, where he composed in the epic-lyric style of Stesichorus, and the second phase coincided with his life in Polycrates' court, where he composed erotic poetry.[15] We haven't sufficient portions of many of the fragments with epic and mythical

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tells us that it was not known whether Stesichorus or Ibycus composed the *Funeral Games of Pelias.*

[13] For a history of the debate on this question, see Lefkowitz 139-150, including the bibliography.

[14] Some of the fragments contain athletic material, suggesting that Ibycus might have been commissioned to compose victory-songs. For example, fr. S166 refers to Castor and Pollux, wrestling, running, and a competition. There are references in S176 to Heracles and chariot-racing and to Pelias as a wrestler. Fr. S220, a commentary on one of Ibycus' poems, contains references to hunting in the hills around Leontini (a Sicilian myth?) and running in an athletic competition. On the same papyrus is a commentary on a poem entitled "Callias" (S221), who may be the Athenian Callias, winner of an Olympic victory in 565 B.C. The evidence appears to support the claim that Ibycus composed epinicians, although the genre may not have been formally developed as yet. See Jenner 59-66 and Barron 1983: 20-22.

[15] *Ibyci Rhegini Carminum Reliquiae* (Göttingen 1833). The story is probably not that simple. Stesichorus too had a reputation for composing *paidika*, love-songs for boys (Chamaeleon, fr. 25 Wehrli).

material, however, to be convinced that these were not used in love-songs or *encomia*, and it is possible that Ibycus simply transformed the heroic stories and language in service of these genres. His grounding in epic can also be seen in the dactylic metres he prefers, even for his love-songs.[16]

Fragment S151 has received more scholarly attention than any other of Ibycus' songs. It has been described as "banal and conventional" in its thought, words and structure,[17] "spiritless and trivial,"[18] and the work of a poet who had a new vision with a great command of epic material which he could manipulate for encomiastic effect.[19]

The papyrus, which dates from the second century B.C., has preserved most of 48 verses. The structure is triadic and the metre basically dactylic:[20] we are missing the strophe of the first extant triad, and the fourth surviving strophe is largely mutilated, but we can get a fairly clear picture of the entire song, and there is a coronis after v. 48, indicating that we have the ending. The papyrus bears no direct ascription to Ibycus, but the poem has been assigned to him by most commentators on the basis of metre, epic content, and the reference to Polycrates in v. 47. What remains of the first surviving triad refers to the Fall of Troy. νῦν δέ μοι at the beginning of the next triad marks a transition to the poet/speaker's voice, with which he makes it clear that he has no desire to continue with the epic theme, and that in fact no mortal could recount the courage of the Greek heroes who sailed to Troy, nor the details of the Greek fleet which carried them on their mission of destruction. The final triad contains an account of the most beautiful of the young Greek and Trojan warriors, and the song concludes with praise of Polycrates' own beauty, which inspired a song guaranteeing the tyrant's immortality.[21]

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[16] On the dactylic base of the metres used by Ibycus see West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982) 51-52. In this too Ibycus resembles Stesichorus.

[17] Fränkel, *EGPP* 288.

[18] Page 14.

[19] Barron 1969: 133-136, Sisti 1967: 77-79.

[20] The principal component is the dactylic tetrameter, which occurs frequently in Ibycus. For a metrical analysis of the fragment see Gerber 208-209.

[21] The assonance in the last three verses can be heard as reinforcing the connection between Polycrates' beauty and his fame: κάλλεος, Πολύκρατες, κλέος, κατ' and κλέος. The repetition of κλέος in such a short compass has been criticized, but is defended by Woodbury 204. There has been considerable debate over the last three verses, summarized by Woodbury 203-204. The

The language is a literary one, placing the song in the epic-lyric tradition, for it contains Doric elements overlaid upon a fundamentally epic base, with a couple of Aeolisms.[22] Typically Ibycean in style is the accumulation of modifiers (for example, within three verses Agamemnon is κρείων, Πλεισθενίδας βασιλεὺς ἀγὸς ἀνδρῶν and Ἀτρέος ἐσθλοῦ πάις ἔκγονος, vv. 20-22). Another feature of Ibycus' style is the placing of nouns between two epithets (ἀλώσιμον ἆμαρ ἀνώνυμον, vv. 14-15). The criticisms levelled against the poem have focussed on the compilation of epic details, which are read as perfunctory, careless; to these critics the epic formulae appear two-dimensional.[23] Those readers who would redeem Ibycus, on the other hand, focus on the function, not the nature, of the epic material in this poem. Like Sappho's fr. 16, this material has become a catalogue enumerated and passed over, a *praeteritio* with the purpose of moving beyond an epic litany to some new focus. The direction moves forward to a *laudandus*, to Polycrates, who is celebrated for his beauty and rewarded with the immortality that song provides, in a medium not unlike that which immortalized the epic heroes but in a new mode. With this process Ibycus is anticipating the epinician poetry of Pindar and Bacchylides.[24] His *praeteritio* has also been taken to amount to a full-scale *recusatio*, a rhetorical device whereby one body of material is rejected completely in favour of something else. But Ibycus is not rejecting epic tales outright. His Greek and Trojan heroes provide

papyrus contains a stop after v. 46, dividing the theme of the tyrant's beauty from the effect of the poet's tribute. Most modern editors and commentators have followed Wilamowitz in deleting the full stop, although some substitute a comma. With a stop, if τοῖς is taken with πέδα ("among them") the genitive κάλλεος is unexplained, a problem that does not exist if the stop is removed and κάλλεος can depend upon κλέος in the next verse. Those who would retain the stop supply μέτεστι for πέδα, which, modelled on its use in later literature, can govern both τοῖς and κάλλεος ("they [the warriors] have a share in beauty forever"). This, as Woodbury points out, has the weakness of detaching Polycrates from the idea of beauty, awarding him poetic fame without justification, which is contrary to archaic practice. Archaic poets normally include the deeds and attributes of the individuals they praise. For a poetic parallel, in which a ruler's immortality is justified by his accomplishments and guaranteed by the success of the poet see Pindar's tribute to Hieron at the end of the First *Olympian* (vv. 115-116).

22 For details see Sisti 1967: 68-70.

23 Page 166 says of the epic phrases that they "stand uprooted, unadapted, substitutes for thought."

24 For the "epinician" colouring of this song see, for example, Buongiovanni 126-129, Woodbury 204-206, Péron 46-54, Barron 1969: 137.

exemplars for the beauty of Polycrates in the last triad. Horace goes further than this in *Odes* 4.9, where he rejects the "sombre Muses of Stesichorus" (*graves Stesichorae Camenae*, v. 9) in favour of lyric poetry.[25] This later poem is more appropriately called a *recusatio*, a rhetorical trope that was first classified in the Alexandrian period, too late for Ibycus, but it is likely that the process had begun with Sappho's fr. 16, and the movement continued with Ibycus' "poétique du refus"[26] in S151.

The song is not without its poetic merits, quite apart from the question of its genre. The content respects the form: the *Ilioupersis* is confined to the first surviving triad of the fragment, the *praeteritio* of the epic catalogue is contained in the next, and the new focus on beauty is developed in the last. Helen and Aphrodite are linked by their golden hair (ξανθᾶς v. 5, χρυσοέθειραν, v. 9), both foreshadowing, together with "slender-ankled Casssandra" (vv. 11-12), beauty and its attendant power, the theme to which the poet ultimately turns. The obliteration of Troy is underscored by the alliteration and assonance of vv. 14-15, ἁλώσιμον ἆμαρ ἀνώνυμον. The references to the Greek fleet that span the second and third triads evoke the Homeric catalogue of ships with its invocation to the Muses, acknowledging that without their power no poet could accomplish the task (*Il.* 2.484-493). But it also recalls Hesiod's account of sailing from Aulis to Euboea, in which he too is reminded of the departure of the Greek host (*Op.* 651-659). The result of Hesiod's voyage was victory in a musical competition, when he was awarded a tripod which he dedicated to the Heliconian Muses. The likelihood that Ibycus is recalling the Hesiodic passage is increased by the fact that his Muses are also Heliconian (v. 24). Hesiod had contrasted himself with his Muses in not being σεσοφισμένος (vv. 660-662); this is the same word used by Ibycus to describe his Muses who, unlike ordinary mortals, have the practical skill[27] to narrate epic tales. Ibycus' allusion to the Hesiodic passage in S151 reflects a

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[25] In other ways the poem has parallels with S151: Horace names Helen and her passion, the importance of the poet in bestowing immortality, and follows this with a direct address to Lollius, with the promise to celebrate his deeds. *Odes* 1.6 also follows the structure of Ibycus' song: epic poetry is beyond the scope of the poet whose Muse is unwarlike, and the poem closes with the poet's decision to ignore heroism and turn to the theme of love.

[26] Péron 48. One must keep in mind, however, that the song moves beyond refusal to focus on the ability of the poet to bestow praise.

[27] On this meaning of σεσοφισμέναι see Woodbury 200-201.

confidence in his own skill: Hesiod won the competition. The presence of these Muses with their technique, even if this is passed over, reinforces this theme of poetic prowess which is arguably the ultimate focus of the song.

There is, however, one other message that Ibycus has embedded in S151, more subtly than the declared theme of his poetic mandate and ability. This is the warning that beauty has its dangerous underside. Central to the *Ilioupersis* account is not just the heroic performance of the Greek warriors but the presence of three beautiful female figures—Helen, Aphrodite and Cassandra. Helen and Aphrodite caused the ἀλώσιμον ἆμαρ ἀνώνυμον by the power of beauty; Cassandra's name evokes two stories of destruction—her rape by Ajax and its deadly consequences, or her capture by Agamemnon and the double murder this precipitated. Helen and Cassandra, like the city of Troy itself, are prizes that bring ruin in their train, yet provide subjects for song. The position of power in which certain men found themselves could also be double-edged. Agamemnon is ἀγὸς ἀνδρῶν (v. 21), "leader of men," but with a change in accentuation he becomes "accursed" of men.[28] As tyrant, Polycrates, beautiful and powerful, would ultimately deliver Samos into the hands of the Persians by the sensuous living he cultivated (Athenaeus 12.540f-541a). Was Ibycus prophetic in S151?

Fragment 286, from a song expressing the overwhelming power of Love, was quoted by Athenaeus (13.601b). It contains two striking images: the tranquility of a pure, undisturbed garden of nymphs in springtime gives way to a storm brought on by the North Wind, a tempest of Eros who knows no season. In the garden of innocence, unshorn like the meadow sacred to Artemis (Eur. *Hipp.* 73-74), there is seasonal consistency: it is spring (ἦρι μὲν...[v. 1]), when rivers flow, and vine-blossoms are growing (v. 5) with the promise of fruit from the quince-trees.[29] The contrast is sharp between this image and what follows. In the heart of the poet/speaker (ἐμοὶ δ', v. 6) passion is unseasonal; it never sleeps but rushes down upon him, parching, dark and shameless. The overall structure of the fragment is tripartite. The image of the inviolate garden of maidens (not unlike Sappho fr. 2 in its springtime

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[28] ἄγος ἀνδρῶν, pointed out by Willein 41.

[29] The presence of quince-trees holds out the expectation of erotic success, for quinces were a symbol of love in ancient poetry (Bowra, *GLP* 260-261, Trumpf 15-16).

richness and promise) is followed by a simple statement of the lover's plight. This develops into the elaborate image of the windstorm, which also has Sapphic echoes but from her fr. 47 in which Eros shakes the heart like a wind felling oak trees on a mountain.

Is the fragment strophic? The metre is that known as the Ibycean, a combination of dactyls and cretics,[30] and the clausula at v. 7 may represent the end of a strophic component. Commentators have attempted to find responsion, with mixed success.[31] If our fragment is part of a triadic song, this raises once again the question of whether there is a close connection between this form and choral performance, for the content of this song would be more appropriate for a private, not a public, event.

There has been considerable discussion generated by the verb φυλάσσει of v. 12. This is the word transmitted by the manuscripts of Athenaeus who preserves the fragment (13.601b), but to some readers it ill suits the context in which Eros is a storm-wind. A wind swooping down upon the heart is difficult to reconcile with "guarding," and how could it be vigilant πεδόθεν ("from the ground," "utterly")? Wilamowitz (122-124) defended it on the grounds that such guardianship was consistent with the sleepless assailant of v. 7, and he has had supporters.[32] Martin West felt that the verb constructed an image that was "obscure and meaningless" and proposed instead λαφύσσει "burns completely," in keeping with the conflagration implied by the lightning-filled, parching wind, and on the analogy with its use in an erotic context in *Anth. Pal.* 5.238.[33] He, too, has found adherents.[34] Whether the Eros-wind guards or blazes, it is a powerful image that is at once external and internal: in its madness, its darkness and shamelessness the wind becomes the lover.

Fragment 287 also belongs to the world of Eros. Again the song is tripartite in structure, with two strong images framing the poet/speaker's self-reflection.[35] Love this time is located internally

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30 For an analysis see West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982) 51.

31 For a summary of these attempts, see West 1975: 307.

32 See, for example: Fränkel, *EGPP* 285, Gentili 1984: 191-197 and 1967: 178-180, Bonanno 73-79 and Luginbill 343-347. On this reading, Eros is the sleepless (οὐ ... κατάκοιτος) guardian of the captive emotions of the lover.

33 1966: 152-153 and 1975: 307.

34 For example, Davies 1986: 401 and n. 12, Borthwick 79-83. Other suggestions have included τινάσσει (Naeke, citing parallels from Hesiod and Sappho) and ταράσσει.

35 Not only the poems that belong clearly to an erotic context follow this

within a beloved, looking out meltingly from under his dark eyelids, then externalized as he propels the lover into the net of Aphrodite. This lover is afraid, like an aged race-horse compelled to pull a swift chariot in the race. The *topos* of the lover as prey or of the game of love as a hunt was a favourite image among Greek love-poets, occurring first in extant verse here.[36] It was popular with the Roman poets, too: Propertius begins the first poem of Book 1 with *Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis.* The conceit of alluring love emanating, flashing, or dripping from the eyes is found in the *Theogony* (v. 910, of the three Charites), and was consistent with a belief in extramission prevalent in Greek antiquity, the notion that vision occurred when light streamed forth from the eyes. When this light met the light from the eyes of a beloved, Eros joined the two.[37] The experience of recurrent love is a common one for the poet/lover. Sappho voices this in fr. 1: her δηὖτε (vv. 15, 16, 18), which refers to the inevitable return of passion, is echoed by the Ἔρος αὖτέ με of Ibycus' v. 1. For him, however, passion is untimely, as it was unseasonal in fr. 286: the sad and slightly ridiculous figure of the old race-horse suggests that Ibycus is engaging in some self-mockery in his old age.

Fragment 288 is a love-song for a boy, belonging to the poetic genre *paidika.* Euryalus is praised for his beauty in tones that extol him as a mythical creature, and the song has hymnic overtones.[38] He is a "child of the Graces," nursed among roses by Aphrodite and Peitho. But recalling the heroic praise of Polycrates in fr. S151 we are aware that Ibycean allusions can be suggestive of more than one meaning, and on another level fr. 287 is not a song of innocence. The four verses recall directly the Hesiodic account of the creation of Pandora (*Op.* 73-100), the young girl decked out by the Graces, Peitho and the Horae to be a bane for men (πῆμα ἀνδράσιν, v. 82). Ibycus, ἐρωτομανέστατος περὶ μειράκια (*Suda,* TA1) was no stranger to the toils of Aphrodite, but as in his encomium for

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structure. Fr. S151 (above) presents images drawn first from the *Ilioupersis,* moving to the poet/speaker's choice to explore other themes, then to exemplars of beauty.

[36] For later examples see Davies 1980: 256, n. 7.

[37] Compare Soph. fr. 474 Radt, describing Pelops as having a "lightning glance" when he looks at Hippodameia. He is "inflamed" and she is "scorched." See Pearson, A.C. and W. G. Headlam, *The Fragments of Sophocles* Vol. II 129 *ad loc.* for a discussion of this belief.

[38] Could this extension of the praise of the beloved be modelled upon Stesichorus, also a poet of *paidika*?

Polycrates, he allows the danger that lurks beneath beauty to be contrapuntal to a song of praise.

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ANACREON[1]

Life

Anacreon was born in the Ionian city of Teos, near Smyrna in Asia Minor. The *Suda* reports his birth (the likely reading of γέγονε[2]) was during the 52nd Olympiad (572/569 B.C. = *test.* 1). This date would fit with the *floruit* given by Eusebius, Ol. 61.1 (536/5 B.C. = *test.* 2), close to the time when Polycrates and his brothers seized power on Samos and just slightly later than the Eusebian *acme* for Ibycus.[3] Himerius' 29th Oration (fr. 491) preserves the tradition that Anacreon was invited to the island as tutor of the young Polycrates, which would suit the chronology placing Anacreon's birth in Ol. 52, allowing him to be at his *floruit* in instructing the boy. It is likely that prior to moving to Samos Anacreon had fled from Teos to Abdera with the rest of the Teians c. 545 B.C., when the city fell to the Persians (Hdt. 1.168).

Like Ibycus, Anacreon enjoyed the patronage of Polycrates as a court poet. This sophisticated setting was a natural *milieu* for the refined tastes of Anacreon's poetry, but the relationship with Polycrates came to an abrupt end when the tyrant was treacherously murdered by the Persian satrap Oroetes c. 522.[4] Anacreon's reputation as a poet had spread to Athens, and he was immediately summoned to the Athenian court by the Peisistratid Hipparchus, who dispatched a warship to Samos in order to assure his safe transport

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[1] The numbering of the fragments will follow that of Page (*PMG*) unless otherwise indicated. Testimonia included in Campbell's Loeb edition (1988) will be cited according to his numbering.

[2] Mosshammer, *Chronicle* 298-299. The *Suda* entry is given in *test.* 1. γέγονε is sometimes translated "lived" (i.e. *floruit*) but this is impossible, for if his *acme* (aged 40) was in 572 Anacreon would have been 80 in 532 when Polycrates first ruled Samos, and 90 when the tyranny ended and the poet moved to Athens. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the *Suda* reports a second tradition according to which Anacreon is synchronized with Cyrus and Cambyses (Ol. 55, or 560/556 B.C.).

[3] Mosshammer, *Chronicle* 290. Eusebius gives Ol. 60.1 (540/39) as the *acme* for Ibycus.

[4] Evidence for the closeness between poet and patron is apparent in Herodotus' account of the murder of Polycrates (3.120): when the Persian messenger arrived at the Samian court he found Polycrates and Anacreon together at table.

(Plato, *Hipparch.* 228b = *test.* 6). There he joined Simonides, enhancing the artistic life surrounding another tyrant, paying poetic tribute to such notables as Critias, grandfather of the politician who bore his name (fr. 495). When tyranny came to an end in Athens with the murder of Hipparchus in 514 B.C. and the expulsion of Hippias in 510 B.C. he appears to have established some connection with the royal house in Thessaly.[5] His latter years were spent in Athens, where he apparently adapted to the democratic régime, becoming a friend of Xanthippus, father of Pericles (Himerius, *Or.* 39.11 Colonna). He lived until the age of 85, according to Lucian (*Macr.* 26 = *test.* 8), long enough to enjoy the lyrics of Aeschylus. Valerius Maximus adds the (apocryphal?) detail that he died by choking on a grape stone (9.12. ext. 8 = *test.* 9).

Reputation

Anacreon's reputation as a poet, which earned him passage to Athens, continued to flourish after his arrival in the city. He became a public figure, and was depicted on vases while still alive: fragments of a red-figure calyx crater by the Kleophrades painter (late 6th century B.C., Copenhagen MN 13365) show a *komos* figure of a type which immediately afterwards became popular on Attic vases. The man's head is bound in the *sakkos* (a turban worn in the Ionian Greek East) and he throws his head backwards in the pose characteristic of a singer. He carries a parasol, and on the fragment of the arm of a lyre is inscribed the name "Anacreon." There are 46 vases of this type, surviving in fragments, most of them dating to the years 490-450 B.C. A figure identified as "Anacreon" is found in 13 of these, and on five of them Anacreon is shown alone.[6] Pausanias describes a statue of the poet on the Acropolis, placed beside statues of Pericles and his father Xanthippus (1.25.1 = *test.* 10), and there are several others recorded.[7] His popularity had not waned by the Roman period, when "Anacreon" coins

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[5] This is inferred from the fact that two epigrams attributed to him (*Anth. Pal.* 6.136, 6.142) were written to accompany dedications made by the Thessalian king and his wife.

[6] Rosenmeyer 30. On the interpretation of these vases, the Eastern features of the iconography and their possible connection with early comic choruses see also Price 133-175.

[7] Rosenmeyer 22.

and mosaics were designed. The iconographic representation of the poet altered considerably during the Hellenistic period: erotic and symposiastic features, clearly drawn from his poetry, are exaggerated, and he is frequently shown as an old man, another detail drawn from his songs.[8]

The pleasure-loving, wine-drinking aspects of his verses were imitated in the *Anacreontea,* a group of 62 poems found in a 10th-century manuscript which frequently refer to Anacreon, allude to his verses or speak in his *persona.* Love and wine are the most common subjects. The poems are composed in "anacreontic" metres (lyric dimeters, iambics frequently catalectic, and ionics with anaclasis). The *Anacreontea* were long regarded as composed by the poet, but since the 19th century it has been recognized that they date from the Hellenistic to the Roman, and possibly Byzantine, eras.[9]

Although the *Anacreontea* supplanted the actual songs of Anacreon from the second century A.D. until the modern era, we have some attestation to the respect in which his poetry was held in antiquity. The younger Critias awarded him strong praise in a poem quoted by Athenaeus (Anac. fr. 500): Anacreon is "sweet," and will never be forgotten, a weaver of songs for women, for female choruses and their *pannychides,* a stimulant of the symposium with his *scolia,* and a soother of pain with his music. Horace, who acknowledged his indebtedness to the Greek lyric poets, found in Anacreon a particularly kindred spirit, in both refinement of style and subject-matter. He makes direct reference to Anacreon in several poems (*Epode* 14, *Odes* 1.17 and 4.9), and imitates him on several occasions. The advice to drink with the moderation and grace which are foreign to barbarians (fr. 356b) appears only slightly altered in *Odes* 1.27. The Thracian filly of fr. 417 reappears more than once.[10] Perhaps the best tribute paid to Anacreon in antiquity comes from Horace: *nec, si quid olim lusit*

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[8] Leonidas of Tarentum (*Anth. Plan.* 306 = *test.* 11) describes one such image, a statue in which Anacreon is dishevelled and drunk, an old man with a wrinkled foot in his one remaining shoe, "gazing with lust-filled eyes as he sings of his boy-loves." Compare with this Ovid's words in *Ars Am.* 3.30: *vinosi Teia Musa senis.*

[9] On the date, the content and the metres of the *Anacreontea* see Rosenmeyer 115-146 and Campbell 1988: 4-18.

[10] For a discussion of these and other passages of Anacreon which influenced Horace see Campbell 1985: 35-38.

Anacreon delevit aetas ("nor has the passage of time destroyed whatever Anacreon once composed in playfulness" *Odes* 4.9.9, = *test.* 19).

Poetry

Critias' poem suggests that Anacreon was known as a composer of *partheneia,* of which we possess but one direct quotation (fr. 501). His reputation in antiquity was based mainly on his amatory and convivial poetry, and it is from these that we have most of our quotations. Himerius (*Or.* 28.2) and Strabo (14.1.16) report that his verses contained many references to Polycrates (= fr. 483), but we have only one fragment that may be a direct reflection of the tyrant— fr. 371, in which the speaker reflects that he is not given to extremes in dealing with fellow-citizens. In another fragment (353) addressed to Megistes, a boy-favourite on Samos, Anacreon refers to the μυθιῆται, "seditious talkers," who may be the fishermen known to have rebelled against Polycrates (Hdt. 3.44).[11] The *Suda* records his *corpus* as composed of elegies and iambic songs as well as drinking songs. By "iambic" compositions the *Suda* was probably referring more to manner than metre, for among the extant fragments are some excellent specimens of invective framed in metres not exclusively iambic (see below, on fr. 388).

Crinagoras of Rhodes composed a poem to accompany a gift of Anacreon's verses which he describes as contained in five books (*Anth. Pal.* 9.239 = *test.* 13). This may have been the Alexandrian arrangement, but there could have been as many as ten books.[12]

With the exception of two papyrus finds (frr. 346 and 347) the textual tradition of Anacreon is an indirect one, consisting of

[11] Megistes is named as one of Anacreon's boy-favourites in four Hellenistic epigrams. As Page points out (1966: 27-32), however, the reference to the μυθιῆται in fr. 353, and some other potentially ironic or hostile suggestions in this same fragment (and in frr. 352 and 416) may indicate that Anacreon and Megistes found themselves with different political loyalties in the *stasis* on Samos.

[12] These were likely arranged by Aristophanes of Byzantium, then again by Aristarchus. Gentili xxvi-xxviii argues that there were 9 or 10 books in the Alexandrian edition, primarily arranged according to metre, with one devoted to *partheneia.* Given the priority assigned to women's songs in the Critias poem, Gentili feels that there may have been a separate collection of μέλη γυναικῶν in the fifth century.

quotations. Nonetheless, a few songs which we possess may be complete,[13] and we possess in all sufficient material to admire the work of a consummate artist. Commentators have long admired his neatness and urbanity, the meticulous symmetry which underscores a careful selection and positioning of his words. Just as frequently, however, the symmetry is overturned by an unexpected word or image. Fragment 359, in which the speaker professes a love for Cleoboulus, employs the figure *polyptoton* (the repetition of a word in different cases) with three neatly parallel statements. The first states "I love Cleoboulus," the second "I am mad about Cleoboulus," but the third expresses this love with the verb διοσκέω, which is glossed by Hesychius as either "gazing constantly at with one's eyes," or "carrying off with body and soul," and even "destroying." Which did Anacreon intend?

His adjectives, not piled up in profusion like those in Ibycus, are colourful and pointed. In fragment 358 Eros, "golden-haired," hits the speaker with a "purple" ball, summoning him to play with a girl in "multi-coloured" sandals. Behind the colour imagery is deeper significance: the purple ball associates the toy with Aphrodite; the golden hair marks the divinity of Eros, and the variegated sandals the high style of the girl. This acknowledgment of the girl's status is expanded by the Homeric epithet for her homeland, Lesbos, εὐκτίτου (v. 5), "well-founded with cities" (cf. *Il.* 2.592). Behind this compliment lies either a mock-heroic contrast with the poet's unattractiveness in his old age, or it is preparation for the *volte-face* in the dramatic last word, χάσκει. The word undercuts the build-up of the girl's status by observing her gaping open-mouthed in another direction.[14] Since this is one of the songs we have reason to believe is complete, we can admire in these eight verses the many layers with which Anacreon constructed songs defying a simple reading.

Many readers have taken the last line of fr. 358 as ironic. The pattern occurs elsewhere, and where this functions as the scorpion's sting, commentators refer to the iambic or satirical style of Anacreon. It looks backward to Archilochus, and forward to epigram. The scenes Anacreon creates are vivid, sketching in a short compass various human types in action. In fr. 427, for example, the

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[13] There is reason to believe that we have the complete text of 358, 360, 395 and 417.

[14] On just what is the object of her gaze, see below pp. 207-208.

poet gives us an image of women sitting by the hearth swilling wine and babbling endlessly and noisily, like the waves of the sea.

But his portraits drawn from everyday scenes and his iambic tendencies could still be delivered with elegance. Just as he was said to have tempered the roughness of Polycrates' tyranny with his love-songs (Max. Tyr. 37.5 = fr. 471), so he created an ambience of grace and delicacy in many of his verses which is well contained in the word χάρις.[15] He seems to have been aware of this, for Maximus of Tyre quoted him as saying that even children would love him for his words, since he sings with grace and composes with graceful words (χαρίεν, 18.9 = fr. 402a-c).

The *Suda* sums up the life of Anacreon with the words that he was devoted to the love of boys, women and song (*test.* 1). In even the shortest phrases surviving from his erotic verse we find some of his most striking imagery and choice of words: "glistening with desire" (πόθῳ στίλβων̆, fr. 444), "weaving thighs around thighs" (πλέξαντες μηροῖσι† πέρι μηρούς, fr. 439), "come, pledge me, dear boy, your soft thighs" (ἀλλὰ πρόπινε/ῥαδινοὺς ὦ φίλε μηρούς, fr. 407). Χάρις belongs with love, and the pleasure conferred by the beauty of a beloved is captured nowhere better in Greek poetry than with χαῖρε φίλον φῶς χαρίεντι μειδιῶν προσώπῳ ("Hail, light dear to me, smiling with your lovely face," fr. 380). Χάρις also denoted reciprocal care between lovers. Anacreon refers to the fairness in love as something "beautiful to Eros" (fr. 402b).[16]

But, as Sappho made clear with her coining of "sweet-bitter" to describe the experience of love, torment also accompanies the pleasures of Eros. "I am carried over hidden reefs" (fr. 403) is probably the voice of an experienced lover. Anacreon imitates his Lesbian predecessor with the anticipation of diving from the Leucadian cliff, "drunk with love" that is unrequited (fr. 376). Sometimes the torment is internal, as Sappho had remarked with "there are two states of mind in me" (fr. 51); Anacreon's words are "Again I love and do not love, am crazy and not crazy!"(fr. 428).

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[15] This is a word used by Gentili throughout the introduction of his book (1958), which for him encapsulates the poetic style of Anacreon. Vox 13-23 expands on the appropriateness of this word for the poetry of Anacreon. It represents the beauty of his verse, the pleasure it brings to his audience, the civilizing tone it brings to the symposium and the reciprocal pleasure that results, as well as the handsome features of the *eromenoi*.

[16] With this compare Sappho's "He that is beautiful is beautiful to see, but he that is good is immediately beautiful also" (fr. 50).

How seriously are we to take Anacreon's expression of desire and of the vicissitudes of love? Commentators differ on this point. Some find that the sophistication of his craft indicates a certain detachment or objectifying of emotion, a conforming to the taste of Polycrates' court, which made for a certain artificiality in his poetic composition.[17] Comparing him with Sappho or Catullus, some find in Anacreon none of their direct passion or earnestness.[18] Others find the feeling less profound or intense, perhaps, than in these two poets, but nonetheless able to create an atmosphere of the moment that has its own power.[19] It is in his songs which record the pain or the struggle in love that we come closest to an expression of genuine feeling not masked by poetic craft. Even when love is a game, we do not lose sight that there is risk and danger in the playing.

Fragment 396 invites a boy to bring the accoutrements of symposiastic love—water, wine and garlands—so that the speaker may box with Eros (reading ὡς δή in v. 2) or so that he may avoid such a match (reading ὡς μή).[20] This scene clearly encapsulated the image of Anacreon during the Roman period, for these verses were inscribed on a second-century A.D. Roman mosaic in Autun, containing a portrait of Anacreon.[21] The fragment as Athenaeus

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[17] Bowra, *GLP* 277, Gentili, *Poetry* 91.

[18] Kirkwood, *EGM* 153, "Anacreon's most serious tone in amatory verse has an objectivity and reflectiveness foreign to erotic passion."

[19] Gentili xx. A strong defence for Anacreon's portrayal of the force of Eros and its destructive power is presented by Cyrino 371-382.

[20] This is a case where the reading of the fragment is affected by the choice of one of two possible letters. If the speaker is setting himself up with wine etc. for a boxing-match with Eros (ὡς δή) he is presumably preparing to fend off love, or at least to posture as if he were. By inviting the boy to bring wine, water and garlands so that he may *avoid* such a match (ὡς μή) he is preparing himself to be a willing lover, recognizing that challenging Eros is his sober, default position. On this occasion the wine will prevent such resistance: the speaker's request reflects a kind of *Selbstironie*, together with his knowledge that the god is invincible (Giangrande 114-117). The mss. of Athenaeus (who quotes the two verses of the fragment) present the text with ὡς μή, and this is how it reads in a reference to the poem in Eustathius (*ad Il.* 1322). The case for μή is strengthened by its appearance in a Roman mosaic (see below, n. 21). ὡς δή, on the other hand, the proposal to fight, is the text found in the 5th-century lexicographer Orion, and it is accepted by Gentili and Page.

[21] The mosaic was uncovered in 1965. An additional song is included in the mosaic—Anacreon's fr. 492 with vestiges of more verses than has survived in the indirect tradition. The fragment is poorly preserved but an attempt at reconstruction was made by M. and A. Blanchard 268-279, based on a poem from the *Anacreontea*.

quotes it is upbeat in the movement of the first verse, with the triple φέρε in anaphora neatly fitting the rhythm of the first two cola, but the word that ends the second verse, πυκταλίζω, reverses this optimism: either the lover risks losing the bout (ὡς δή), or he is aware that he needs help to resist his inclination to engage in an action which is ultimately futile (ὡς μή).[22]

The risk of losing a challenge to Eros is presented unequivocally in fragment 398. Knucklebones, akin to our game of jacks, was a popular game played by children and women. Winners took all, and losers lost all. Eros never loses his *astragaloi*, as Apollonius made clear in describing the game the Love-boy played with Ganymede (3.117-127). Beneath the surface of this innocent image lurks danger, described by Anacreon in (mock?) epic proportion: in a game of *astragaloi* with Eros there is not only "madness" but the "noisy confusion of battle" (cf. *Il.* 10.523, 18.535).

In fragment 413 we find other images drawn from everyday life, with resonances at various levels which imply even more violence in the activity of Eros. Here the love-god is a smith, striking the speaker with a large axe, then dousing him in an icy mountain torrent. A blow from Eros means a shift from fire to ice, from passion to chill. The impact of this is intensified by recalling two Homeric passages. In *Od.* 3.442-445 the axe-blow fells a heifer for sacrifice, and in *Od.* 9.389-394 the image of a smith's tempering a red-hot axe-blade by dipping it into cold water is used to describe the sizzle of the Cyclops' eye when the fire-hardened spike meets his flesh. The echoes supply a backdrop of pain and dismemberment.

Anacreon, like Sappho before him, used the form of the cletic hymn to make an appeal for success in love. In fragment 357 the speaker calls on the god Dionysus to encourage Cleoboulus to respond to his love. As with Sappho's fr. 1 we are tempted to raise the question about how close the appeal was to an actual divine invocation. Several of the formal elements of the hymn are present—the deity is invoked, one of his locations is named, and the favour is requested. No past favours of the votary are mentioned, however, and an appeal to the god of wine for success in love, albeit

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[22] Accepting the reading ὡς δή of Orion is attractive, despite the weight of the text as transmitted elsewhere. The proposal to raise his fists to Eros has the advantage of keeping erotic tension in these two verses, a feature that is common elsewhere in Anacreon.

that Dionysus is invoked here as a playmate of Aphrodite, strongly suggests that the song is delivered in a convivial, not a religious, setting. Moreover, the structure is strikingly unconventional: the god's name is witheld until the last verse (and the song is generally regarded as complete). Dio Chrysostom in quoting the poem does so in order "to show how kings should *not* address the gods." The word-play in Κλεοβούλῳ ... σύμβουλος undercuts the request itself: "how," as one reader remarks, "is the god of orgy, wine, misrule to prove a good adviser to the boy?"[23] The prayer is as mischievous as the god, and the song with its ritual language and high style mocks itself.[24] One of the fragments may be more closely tied to a ritual of Dionysus (fr. 410), but we have on record Anacreon's reply to the question why he did not write hymns to the gods: "because my loves are my gods" (schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 2.1b = *test.* 7).

Maximus of Tyre described the songs of Anacreon as "full of the hair of Smerdies and Cleoboulus" (37.5 = fr. 471, cf. 18.9 = fr. 402). Athenaeus (12.540e) and Aelian (*V.H.* 9.4) record the story that the hair of Smerdies was cut by Polycrates in a jealous rage over the boy's fondness for Anacreon (= fr. 414). Fragment 347, belonging to one of the two extant papyrus fragments of Anacreon, is probably to be connected with this incident, a mock-heroic piece in rocking trochaic dimeters. Homeric language and imagery recall epic descriptions of the beautiful hair of Greek and Trojan heroes as they fell, like Smerdies' locks, into the dust.[25]

Fragment 360 is a less witty but carefully crafted song addressed to a boy-love. Within four verses there is a transformation, smooth but dramatic. The first verse begins gently, with the speaker drawn to the boy's "maïden glance." By the next verse innocence has become indifference: the boy ignores his lover's attention

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23 Goldhill 12.

24 Note the chiasmus in the attributes awarded to the three divinities who accompany Dionysus (vv. 1-3). The γ' in the penultimate line (a conjecture for δ') could also be read as self-mockery: τὸν ἐμόν γ' ἔρωτ' can be translated as "my love, at any rate" (Goldhill 14).

25 We are reminded of the hyperbole in *Pope's Rape of the Lock.* One poet anticipates the Alexandrian age, the other recalls it. The poet/speaker laments his failure to prevent the incident in Anacreon's v. 10, in terms that suggest a betrayal of heroic proportion; he is unable to act ὑπὲρ Θρῄικης. Smerdies was, it seems, a Thracian (*Anth. Pal.* 7.25.8, 7.27.6 and 7.31.1). At v. 11 we appear to have a conflation with another poem (Bowra, *GLP* 279-282 and Gentili 52-53, 206-218).

(alliteration draws attention to both states). The boy who was object of the lover's quest (σε) becomes the acting subject (σὺ). But the final phase is cosmic in scale: unknowingly the boy has become charioteer of his lover's soul, in a striking two-word metaphor[26] that would later be developed by Plato in the *Phaedrus*.

Anacreon's taste in love was not only for boys. Fragment 417 continues the horse imagery in an erotic chase, one in which a young girl is addressed as a "Thracian filly." Girls were frequently referred to as horses in erotic contexts,[27] and Horace made memorable this image of the timid young filly fleeing the attention of a man in his *Odes* 3.9-12. However, Anacreon's filly flees νηλέως, "pitilessly" (v. 2). The word is an epic one, frequently used of the cut of the bronze sword in battle or sacrifice (e.g. *Il.* 3.292). The tables have turned, in terms that are mock-heroic; the timorous colt has been awarded the power of a killer. This imitates the power-reversal in the love-pursuit of the boy with the "maiden glance" in fr. 360. In both fragments the objects of desire are unaware of the love-pursuit (οὐδὲν εἰδέναι, fr. 417.2, cf. οὐκ εἰδώς, 360.3). But the seriousness of the girl's disdain is undercut by the lightness of the trochaic rhythm as she gallops off, and the movement of fr. 417 (unlike fr. 360) is towards control by the lover. The second half of the song parades his credentials, his σοφία as a horse-tamer, and the last word makes it clear that his display amounts to a promise, if not a threat. The girl lacks a skilled ἐπεμβάτης, someone to "mount" her,[28] and he is ready.

In fragment 358 the speaker is once again drawn to a girl, the Lesbian with the variegated sandals. Here he is without good credentials as a lover, for his hair is white (v. 7). The girl from the sophisticated East looks elsewhere, πρὸς ἄλλην (v. 8). Much interest has been focussed on just what is the "other" object of her wide-mouthed attention.[29] Is she drawn to another woman (ἄλλην

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[26] West 1970: 210 argued that the lover's quest for the boy was not metaphorical but real. On analogy with Heraclitus fr. 117D-K he felt that Anacreon was on his way home from a party, and the handsome boy who was guiding him had given him the slip. (West subsequently allowed the metaphorical reading, with the parallel provided by Theogn. 1299-1301 [1975: 308]).

[27] Gerber 236-237 *ad loc.* cites several examples. The boy with the "maiden look" in fr. 360 becomes the horse-tamer.

[28] The word bridges metaphor and reality: it was used to indicate horsemanship, but is also suggestive of sexual aggression. For Aristophanic parallels see Bowra, *GLP* 272, notes 1-3.

[29] On the force of the word χάσκει used to describe the girl's gaping in

κούρην) or to other hair (ἄλλην κόμην)?[30] The fact that "Lesbian" did not connote "lesbian" in early Greek literature, but that λεσβιάζειν was used in fifth-century comedy for *fellatio* (Ar. *Vesp.* 1345-46) has led some readers to see the girl as drawn to hair of another sort than the white hair on the aging speaker's head, namely pubic hair.[31] This would undermine even further the refinement of the girl's attire and origin in εὔκτιτος Λέσβος. But there is no reason to assume, because we have not found examples of the word "Lesbian" used by the ancients for the homoerotic attraction found in Sappho's songs, that this was not a possible connection to make by the late 6th century.[32] Although "hair" is a motif throughout this song (the golden hair of Eros, the white of the poet), and frequently has erotic connotations,[33] there is no reason not to expect the unexpected in Anacreon, particularly toward the end of a song, leaving room for κούρην or νῆνιν to be understood.[34] The μὲν...δέ construction sets up an expected contrast between the white hair and its parallel (black? hair). But this could be "apparent" logic, upset by "contrapuntal joke" logic,[35] as Anacreon mocks not only the girl but himself; he doesn't have the credentials on two counts —he has white hair and the wrong physique.

The song which moves beyond mockery and comes close to the invective of Archilochus or Hipponax is fragment 388, which chronicles the rise in station of one Artemon. It is a transformation

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another direction, see above p. 202. As Woodbury commented (p. 281), regarding the reason for the vigor with which this question has been tackled, "it is a plausible explanation that the vagaries of the interpreters are attributable to something external to the poem itself. This in fact appears to be a sexual prejudice of one kind or another."

30 For a summary of the various positions taken by readers see Woodbury 281-283 and Renehan 28-29. This includes the proposal to emend ἄλλην to ἄλλον (first proposed by Barnes) which avoids any ambiguity and has the girl gaping after another man.

31 For a list of those who read it this way see the disussion in Woodbury 282-283, with notes 29-31.

32 So Pellicia 1991: 32-33 and Renehan 30. The connection is implicit in Lucian's *Dial. meretr.* 5.2, and may have influenced usage of Λέσβιαι in the post-Classical period. See Cassio 296-297, who refutes the earlier claims that the association with "lesbian" and tribadism was first made in the 19th century.

33 Woodbury 284-285 takes the hair to represent the whole person, in synecdoche.

34 Urios-Aparisi 63.

35 Pellicia 1991: 34. It is also possible that Anacreon intended some ambiguity here: ἄλλην could have represented both "hair" and "girl." (Pellicia restates his case in 1995: 23-34.)

that is reworked by Horace in *Epodes* 4. Anacreon's Artemon, we are told, has moved from rags to riches, but riches of an effeminate nature. The three-line stanzas (quoted by Athenaeus) each present the story from a particular angle: the first is a visual sketch of Artemon's squalid clothing in earlier times, the second describes the social circuit in which he travelled—among bread-women and whores (who are assimilated by the enjambement of v. 4), the third recounts his criminal activities and their consequences and the fourth his sudden transformation, once again a visual sketch.[36] Many commentators have explained the rise in fortune by connecting this fragment with fr. 372, where Artemon is περιφόρητος (a "litter-rider" according to Athenaeus who cites it), the darling of blonde Eurypyle. "Artemon is the gigolo of Eurypyle, who allows him to indulge his effeminate tastes."[37] An epigram from the *Palatine Anthology* (7.27.5) suggests that Eurypyle was one of Anacreon's lovers, and the satirical account may have been prompted by jealousy. But her name, "Wide-gate" suggests she may have been a prostitute[38] rather than a patron. The new garb is described as γυναιξὶν αὔτως <ἐμφερής> (suppl. Schoemann, v. 12), unambiguously referring to its effeminacy. It resembles the clothing worn by the effeminate Agathon in the *Thesmophoriazusae*. But it also resembles closely the attire worn by Anacreon and the other komasts on the "Anacreontic" vases, complete with parasol. These vases seem to depict Ionic dress from the Greek East during the first half of the fifth century, and Agathon could be putting on airs by impersonating the Ionic poets.[39]

Why, then, does Anacreon choose this fashion for ridiculing Artemon? One reading is to place the satirical focus on the first part of the song, on the cheap and sordid version of transvestite costume that was appropriate for a Dionysiac setting.[40] Another is to see the invective as directed at a sexual subtext: the old way of life represented Artemon in his masculine guise, albeit sordid; the new

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[36] It is not clear whether we have the complete poem. The new life of Artemon is described in just one of the four stanzas, but it is not the case that Anacreon observed exact symmetry, particularly when making a mocking or satirical point. For a more detailed analysis of the structure see Lenz 484-492.

[37] Gerber 233.

[38] Brown 7 and n. 39. Similarly, περιφόρητος can mean "notorious," and Aristophanes in the *Acharnians* (v. 850) accuses Cratinus of being a περιπονηρὸς Ἀρτέμων, which may be an allusion to this poem. See Bowra, *GLP* 299.

[39] Snyder 244-246.

[40] Slater 191-192.

effeminacy is a sign of passive homosexual activity.[41] Anacreon chooses some clever word-play in fr. 424 to mock someone else for just this, referring to the bed-chamber in which he "did not marry but got married" (οὐκ ἔγημεν ἀλλ' ἐγήματο). The metre of the song is unusual for Anacreon, pairs of long lines (choriambic tetrameters) followed by short lines in iambic dimeters,[42] and there is more than the usual build-up of epithets, many of them harsh. If this song was composed for the symposium, one can't help but feel that there was more at stake than court entertainment.

Although many of the erotic songs were convivial in nature, containing elements appropriate for the symposium, some were directed specifically at the drinking party and its ambience. This no doubt accounted in part for the popularity of Anacreon at Athenian symposia in the 5th century[43] and the later association of Anacreon with drunkenness. Fragment 415 refers to the symposiasts' game of cottabus,[44] and the two parts of fragment 356 refer to the appropriate conduct around the mixing-bowl. The proportion of wine to water must be no stronger than 1:2, in order that the drinking remain ἀνυβρίστως (356a, coni. Pauw, v. 5) "not insulting," "decorous." Conversation should not be loud, drinking moderate and accompanied by beautiful hymns; one should not behave like the Scythians (356b). In one of his elegies (Gentili 56 = Campbell 1988: eleg. 2) Anacreon lists the appropriate topics for discussion over wine: one should not mention warfare or strife but should mix the Muses and Aphrodite, as one mingled wine and water. The *krater* filled in correct proportion became the symbol of his symposium. This was the note of civility and moderation which Horace found so congenial in his imitations of Anacreon.

Anacreon was clearly active in love and convivial life in his older years. He had a come-back for the Lesbian girl who spurned his white hair, and perhaps took some pleasure in providing the musical accompaniment to the amorous adventures of his younger friends (fr. 374). He had no reluctance about referring to his old age (fr. 379 refers to his greying beard, as fr. 358 acknowedged his

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[41] Brown 14-15, who cites the parallel association in Old Comedy: "Artemon gained his success by changing his sexual habits" (15).

[42] The use of choriambic expansion and of iambics is not unusual for the extant poetry of Anacreon, but this particular combination is anomalous.

[43] Aristophanes fr. 235 K.-A.

[44] For a description of the game, see Fränkel, *EGPP* 300, n. 25.

white hair). But fragment 395 appears to be a Mimnermus-type lament for the vigour of youth. It is a catalogue of the enfeebling aspects of age. But even here, in a song evidently composed at the end of Anacreon's career, one can see the characteristic polished artistry and possibly the twist in the tail-piece. The catalogue of griefs is paratactic, for the most part one element per verse. But the tedium of this is broken by enjambement and the lightness of the anacreontic rhythms. These also offset the gloominess that increases as the song continues, until the final descent to death, the κάτοδος for the one who is the καταβάς (vv. 11-12).[45] The song closes with words of resignation: "he who goes down does not come up (ἀναβῆναι) again." It is just possible that this word refers to activity on the couch not the Underworld, and the poet departs with a *double-entendre*.[46]

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[45] These stylistic features and others are noted by Campbell 1989a: 179.

[46] For the debate about whether ἀναβῆναι could have erotic connotations before its occurrence in comedy, see Giangrande 109-111 and Campbell 1989: 49-50.

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CORINNA[1]

Life

Corinna was a Boeotian poet who was identified with the city of Tanagra. Plutarch, Pausanias, Aelian and the *Suda* all connect her with Pindar, thereby situating her in the fifth century B.C.[2] Plutarch reports a story in which Corinna advised Pindar on the proper use of myth in poetry. Pausanias describes a painting of her placed in the gymnasium of Tanagra which, he claims, reflected her victory over Pindar in a competition of melic poetry. Aelian and the *Suda* report that she defeated Pindar not once but five times. The *Suda* linked the two poets as pupils of Myrtis, and in fr. 664(a) Corinna criticizes Myrtis for competing with Pindar despite the fact that she is a woman.

Despite this strong ancient tradition anchoring Corinna in the fifth century, modern readers have been making a case for her being a poet of a much later date, sometime in the third century B.C. Corinna (in the verses which remain) gives us no internal evidence of her date, and beginning with Edgar Lobel[3] questions have been raised about whether one can reconcile the language, vocabulary, metre, style and content of her fragments with what we know of the poetry of the Archaic period. Of significant length we have only portions of three poems contained in two papyrus fragments, numbers 654-655. The earlier papyrus (the "Berlin" papyrus) dates from the third century B.C.; the words are in the Boeotian vernacular, and the orthography resembles Boeotian inscriptions of the 3rd century.[4] One way of reconciling the ancient tradition with this evidence is to assume metagrammatism, a third-century scribe's rewriting of a fifth-century text into the common speech of Hellenistic Boeotia. As Denys Page pointed out, the difference between Boeotian spelling of the fifth century and that

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[1] The numbering of Corinna's fragments will follow that of Page in *PMG*. Testimonia follow the numbering of Campbell 1992.

[2] Plutarch *De glor. Ath.* 4.347f-348a (= *test.* 2), Pausanias 9.22.3 (= *test.* 4), Aelian *VH* 13.25 (= *test.* 3), *Suda test.* 1.

[3] Lobel 356-365.

[4] On the dialect and orthography of the papyri of Corinna see Page 46-64.

of the fourth is great; that between the mid-fourth century and later is relatively slight, and therefore it would make sense to have transcribed the works of a fifth-century poet for ready comprehension in the later period.[5] In the fifth century, Corinna's work would have been of local interest only; in the third century, with the rise of a general interest in regional *arcana*, her songs would have been edited for broader circulation.

But others prefer to assume that the form in which the songs occur on the Berlin papyrus is the form in which Corinna composed them, in the third century. A strong voice for this position is that of Martin West,[6] who argues that the self-conscious regionalism of the later period provided a more natural context for the conspicuously Boeotian dialect and local myths which Corinna used. He finds it an implausible hypothesis that Corinna's work survived underground for two centuries, "finally to emerge and become a best seller." It would have either found its way into the Panhellenic book trade in the fifth century or have been lost for good.[7]

Her work is dramatically different from Pindar's, in metre, style and content. Her metres are much simpler, consisting of ionics and glyconics, and the one fragment which bears the most evidence for its being choral (655 fr. 1), with a reference to Terpsichore (the Muse of choral song) and to a group of Tanagran women, does not appear to be strophic.[8] Her myths are parochial, unlike Pindar's pan-Hellenic versions. Her vocabulary consists of words used more commonly during the Hellenistic period, according to West,[9] words like ζάθεος, χρουσοφαῖς, δουῖν, the verbal dual πιθετάν, and the compound λιγουροκωτίλυς, whose "overweight" nature West feels is dithyrambic in nature. In West's view Corinna's 655 fr. 1 is a "programmatic piece," appropriate for the introduction to a book, in which she announces the themes she will cover. This is a Hellenistic practice. Her blaming the poet

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5 Page 75.

6 West 1970: 277-287, 1990: 553-557. A list of those who argue for the later dating can be found in Snyder 125, n. 1.

7 West 1970: 286.

8 West 1990: 554. There are no indications in the papyrus of strophic division, as we find in 654 col. i and iii, for example. The (glyconic) lines are stichic, but this does not rule out choral performance. Stehle 102, n. 93, cites parallels for this.

9 West 1970: 284-285.

Myrtis for competing against another poet (Pindar, in her fr. 664[a]) West also finds Hellenistic in spirit.

The later dating and West's arguments for it were challenged by Malcolm Davies,[10] who finds that the evidence is inconclusive in establishing a date in either period. The *topos* of one poet's blaming another is found as early as Stesichorus; some of the metrical features which are isolated by West as late Davies finds common in the fifth and fourth centuries. Among the words selected by West as indicative of a late date, Davies finds many that he can question as corrupt, unreliable or ambiguous. Another argument presented in favour of a third-century date is that Corinna's straightforward simplicity is a mark of Hellenistic "pseudo-naïvité"; Davies counters this by pointing out that in the later period this posture is usually adopted as a foil to sophistry, a feature which is wholly lacking in Corinna. Davies concludes that the question of Corinna's date is better relegated to the position it deserves, *in ambiguo.*[11]

Poetry

Corinna's poetry was edited in Alexandria at the end of the third century or the beginning of the second century B.C., in five books along with epigrams and "lyric nomes," according to the *Suda* (*test.* 1). Just what these lyric nomes were is uncertain: they could be her lyric narratives, which would embrace most of the remaining fragments.[12] This would include the contest between Mounts Cithaeron and Helicon (fr. 654[a] col. i) and therefore would include strophic as well as astrophic songs. In 655 fr. 1 the poet announces her poetic themes, καλὰ ϝεροῖα (v. 2), a phrase whose meaning is uncertain but is probably best taken as "glorious tales."[13] As examples of these she names stories "from the time of

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[10] Davies 186-194. West 1990 is a reply to this challenge.

[11] Davies 190-194. Page too (p. 84) concludes his study of the dating of Corinna with the statement that "there is not sufficient evidence available from internal and external sources to establish the date of Corinna with certainty."

[12] West 1970: 282-283.

[13] Snyder 126 justifiably corrects the translation "old wives' tales" to "glorious songs of heroes," deriving this from the type of narratives in the fragments and from Corinna's claim in 664b that she sings of "the excellent deeds of male and female heroes" (p. 132). Snyder also points out that the

our forefathers" (v. 9), Boeotian heroes such as Cephisus and Orion (vv. 12, 14). Fr. 654(a) ii-iv tells of advice given to the Boeotian river-god Asopus by Akraiphen, descendant of Orion and priest-prophet of Apollo at his Boeotian sanctuary near Mt. Ptoios. The indirect tradition suggests as well that Boeotia figured in most of her mythical narratives.[14]

Although she focussed on heroic tales, her language was not in the epic style, being much simpler and more direct, without elaborate imagery or an accumulation of Homeric epithets.[15] This, together with the simplicity of her metrical schemes, has led readers to assess her work as that of a folk-singer from the Archaic period or a later imitation of this.[16] But she considered her voice a public one: "the city rejoices at the high-toned coaxing of my voice," (655 fr. 1, vv. 4-5). Later she attracted the attention of various writers of the Roman period: Antipater of Thessalonika included her in a list of the nine mortal Muses, and Propertius gave his *docta puella* the literary name of Corinna, suggesting that her compositions were regarded as far from parochial, and significantly above ordinary folk-songs.

The question of Corinna's audience has entered discussions of her date, as well as her reputation as a poet. Was her provincialism a success because she addressed local men and women of Hellenistic Boeotia who were anxious to take pride in their regional heritage? Was her audience pan-Hellenic instead, the reading public of Greece during the Alexandrian period who were fascinated by her local myths and turns of phrase just because of their rarity? Or was the simplicity of her narrative an indication that her audience was primarily women of the fifth century, that she provided cultural consciousness by re-casting ancestral legends for

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reference by a late mythographer to her work as γεροῖα (Anton. Lib. 25 = fr. 656) is not to be identified with Corinna's word, the meaning of which is obscure; the initial digamma in the word at 655 i. v. 2 makes it clear that this is not to be connected with γέρων etc., but is likely cognate with εἴρω and ἐρέω. West 1970: 283 takes ϝεροῖα as providing a title for the collection of her works.

[14] Kirkwood, *EGM* 191, provides a summary of the subjects covered by quotations of Corinna's work found in other writers in antiquity, and concludes that even where there are references to non-Boeotian themes, such as the shield of Athena and the story of Orestes (which may not be authentic) it is not hard to imagine a Boeotian connection.

[15] There are, however, some striking adaptations of Homeric epithets, such as ἀγκυλομήτης (654 col. i, 15) or λιγουροκωτίλυς (655 fr. 1, v. 5).

[16] Snyder 125.

these cloistered and unsophisticated girls and women? The dilemma is posed by her words in 655 fr.1: while she sings "for the white-robed women of Tanagra" (v. 3), and "embellishes tales from our forefathers for maidens" (vv. 10-11), it is not just a female audience but the city as a whole which celebrates her voice (v. 4). One way to resolve the dilemma is to assume that Corinna composed *partheneia*, songs for maiden-festivals.[17] In this she would resemble Alcman, who composed in a local dialect, embedded local myths in his maiden-songs and who, on at least one occasion (in his second *Partheneion*), made explicit his poetic programme. There is no mention of Corinna's *partheneia* in the indirect tradition, however.

Is there a female voice in what remains of Corinna's songs? The self-reference to her "high-toned" voice (655 fr. 1, v. 5) may suggest a pride in the female sound of her songs[18] (and incidentally, a listening not a reading, public). What about the content? She claims in 664(b) to be recounting the accomplishments of heroines as well as heroes. But in 655 fr. 1 she says that her poetic programme will include the exploits of the great Orion and "the 50 sons of high might" whom he bore by having sex with nymphs. This focus on the male issue of heroic rape, which is also the subject of 654(a) coll. ii-iv, where Asopus is encouraged to celebrate the rape of his nine daughters by gods, strikes the modern reader as a male, not a female, perspective. It is indeed a far cry from Sappho.[19] The abduction of women was at the centre of the mythical narrative of Alcman's first *Partheneion*, however, and it is clear that this was not an inappropriate topic when describing the

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[17] Stehle 102-103 reconciles the audience in this way, likening the performance of Corinna's songs to Sappho's wedding songs: "If we line up the two sets of distinctions, then we arrive at the conclusion that Korinna both sings tales to the Tanagran women and delights the city by composing choral poetry on traditional themes for performance by *parthenoi*." Stehle reads the "voice" of v. 5 as representing the voices of the *parthenoi* heard by the city.

[18] While the word can suggest a high pitch or shrill tone, it is regularly used to indicate clarity and purity of the voice, and not applied exclusively to women. It is used for the voice of the Muse (*Od.* 24.62, Alcman 14(a) v. 1) but also of Nestor (*Il.* 1.248, 4.293). See West 1992: 42.

[19] Skinner 9-20 argues that the patriarchal focus of Corinna's verse is the result of her composing in the Hellenistic period, when women were indoctrinated with male values by being exposed to the same education as men, and that her festival songs were compiled for publication and for reading by a primarily male public. This provided a very different context from the sexually-segregated Greek world where women's concerns were given voice in oral poetry and protected by the women's confinement.

female experience for a female audience in the Archaic period. As Corinna's city celebrated her, so she conferred glory on heroines as well as heroes by her song, in the language that women and men of her time and her place understood.[20]

Fragment 654a col. i is found on the first part of the Berlin papyrus. The beginning of the poem is lost, and there is an anomalous metrical change between the first nine lines of col. i and the rest of the papyrus, which may indicate a change of scribes at this point or a change in a scribe's recording procedure from prose to verse.[21] The legible portion of the fragment begins with the conclusion of a song by one of two mountains who are competing in a musical competition. The narrator, unnamed but probably Cithaeron, is telling the story of Rhea's deception of Cronus, the event also described in Hesiod's *Theogony* 453-491.[22] At the end of this performance Hermes proclaims Cithaeron the winner, after the Muses vote in his favour. The loser, Mount Helicon, is provoked into a jealous rage, tears out a rock and dashes it into pieces.

The poem may have had an aetiological basis, since Mount Cithaeron was the location of an important cult of Zeus, and Helicon the important shrine of the Muses. (In the sequel, now missing, the Muses could have consoled Helicon for his loss by promising to make him the principal site of their cult.) The desire to offer an aetiological basis for these cults or for the names of these mountains was as much a feature of the Archaic as the Alexandrian period, and unfortunately cannot be used to help establish the dating of Corinna.[23] The occasion of the first performance of

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[20] Rayor 219-231 defends Corinna as a writer of women's experience, as one who neither blindly accepts the patriarchal tradition nor launches a polemic against it. Stehle 104 suggests that in the shifts and exaggerations of Corinna's versions of myths perhaps she was intending that men and women should hear slightly different messages. In n. 103 she points out that in the Asopus-poem one might see "a mocking exaggeration of the theme of rape that calls attention to male violence and presumptions about female bodies."

[21] From v. 10 onwards, the poem is written in 5 stanzas of ionic dimeters followed by a (longer) 10-syllable clausula. The preceding lines all appear to be at least as long as the decasyllabic lines. This type of anomaly is rare in the Archaic period, but does occur in Alcman. See Burzacchini 68, n. 76 and Page 87-88.

[22] It is possible that Corinna highlights the rôle of Rhea more than does Hesiod (see Rayor 227-228).

[23] Some have looked at the Muses' method of voting, the casting of pebbles into an urn, to argue for a date in the fifth century. Segal 1-8 argues instead that it is a poetic re-working of Pindar's κρύφιαι ψᾶφοι (*Nem.* 8.26), done with

the song may have been a festival at Plataea, where Cithaeron enjoyed prominence in myth and ritual.[24] He, like Helicon, was a mythical early king of Boeotia, before being turned into a mountain.[25] The titanic figure of the raging Helicon, at once human and a piece of animate landscape, is awe-inspiring in his wrath and yet humorous in his temper-tantrum. The calmness with which the Muses cast their vote acts as a foil to this primal nature, not unlike the juridical scene in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, where the coolness of Athena and Apollo highlights the primitive wrath of the Erinyes. The conception of places as mythical personages, of legend as embedded deeply in one specific place, is a feature of Pindar's poetry (one thinks of Cyrene in the Ninth *Pythian*), and may be used to support a fifth-century date for Corinna.[26]

Fragment 654(a) col. ii-iv, a continuation of the Berlin papyrus, begins a new poem with the chronicle of the discussion between Akraiphen, prophet of Apollo, and Asopus, eponymous god of the Boeotian river. Only forty verses can be read clearly, but there are traces of 100 more. Nine of the daughters of the river-god are missing, and Asopus is consulting the Ptoian oracle about their whereabouts. He is told that the girls were stolen by the gods Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo and Hermes and will give birth to a race of heroes, demi-gods. Asopus responds tearfully (col. iii, v. 50) but, in the fragmentary portion of col. iv, appears to announce that he will cease grieving and will give dowry-gifts. Once again we find a divine drama animating Corinna's landscape. The *topos* of consolation of parents for the divine abduction of their children recalls Aphrodite's tale of the rape of Ganymede in the fifth *Homeric Hymn*. Corinna's account of Asopus' reaction differs in other details from the other accounts of this story which we possess, however, in which there is more violence.[27] Here, in this "tale of heroines," we

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the "pseudo-naïveté" of a late third-century poet.

[24] Burzacchini 66.

[25] On the sources for strife or a contest between these two royal brothers see Snyder 127, with n. 4 and Page 21-22.

[26] Vivante 85 argues that the similarity in their treatment of myth corroborates the ancient testimonia. Clayman 635-636 argues on the other hand that the "Aesopic" conceit of an articulate landscape recalls Callimachus' fourth *Iamb* (fr. 194 Pf.), and is a third century allegorical reflection of the musical contest between Corinna and (her predecessor) Pindar.

[27] In Apollodorus' account (III.12.6) Asopus pursues Zeus who has abducted Aegina; for this Zeus hurls thunderbolts against him and sends him back to his water. See Page 25 with n. 6.

find a father's reluctant submission. The narrative is simple and parochial, but the detailed and unique history of the oracle at Ptoios is enlivened by the pomposity of the prophet's account, much as the aetiological account of the earlier poem on the fragment was enlivened by Helicon's rage.

Corinna's verses, like her surroundings, are animated in a way that is not duplicated in Greek poetry. It is regrettable that so much of readers' time has been spent away from recognition of her dramatic powers in favour of deciding on the historical context for her poetry: this may, in the end, prove to be a secondary issue.[28]

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[28] In the words of Kirkwood, *EGM* 185-186, "Perhaps the oddest of all facts in this puzzle is how little difference to Corinna's poetry the interval of 250-300 years makes: she was so little influenced by and had so little influence on Greek poetry that it does not matter at which date she wrote."

PUBLIC POETRY

by

Emmet Robbins

ALCMAN

The oldest of the choral lyric poets of whose work something survived, Alcman lived and wrote in Sparta of the 7th century.[1] Previous figures are no more than names. There are two lines of a Delian processional hymn (prosodion) for the Messenians by Eumelus of Corinth: it is our oldest fragment of choral lyric (*PMG* 696), possibly as early as the 8th century. Other names to survive from the early Archaic period are Thaletas (or Thales), who is said to have come from Crete to Sparta and composed paeans and hyporchemata, and Polymnestus of Colophon, who was mentioned by both Alcman (145 = 225 Calame) and Pindar (fr. 188) and is said to have worked in Sparta too, composing prosodia for pipe accompaniment.[2] Arion of Corinth, who was important in the history of the dithyramb (Her. 1.23), is said by the *Suda* to have been a pupil of Alcman, while Sacadas of Argos is said by Plutarch to have taught his chorus to sing a three-part nome using three different modes in turn.

From this it may be clearly seen that the earliest choral lyric poets are associated with the Peloponnese, and often with Sparta. Whereas the monodic poets used their own dialects, and the elegiac poets the international language of hexameter poetry, there seems to have been from early on a literary language with a more or less strongly marked Doric component that was available to the choral lyric poets. The most reasonable explanation of this impurity of the language is the existence of a literary *koine* in mainland Greece, parallel to the literary language of epic, and used by the choral lyrists, who all worked in Dorian cities. Alcman's language shows a strong influence of Laconian (a local

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[1] In addition to Page, *PMG* and Davies, *PMGF*, Alcman has been edited with a full collection of testimonia by C. Calame, *Alcman. Introduction, texte critique, témoignages, traduction et commentaire* (Rome 1983); see also A. Garzya, *Alcmane: I frammenti* (Naples 1954). Also crucial for understanding the long Louvre *Partheneion* are D. L. Page, *Alcman: The Partheneion* (Oxford 1951), and M. Puelma, "Die Selbstbeschreibung des Chores in Alkmans grossem Partheneion-Fragment," *MH* 34 (1977) 1-55. For further bibliography see D. E. Gerber, *Lustrum* 36 (1994) 9-50.

[2] The testimonia for these poets are collected and translated by D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric* (Cambridge, Mass, 1982-1993) 2. 286-335 and 3. 202-207.

Doric vernacular used at Sparta), but it contains some Aeolic forms, and some fragments even show forms that are found in Homer. In later time Stesichorus, Simonides, Bacchylides, and Pindar continued to use a literary language strongly marked by Doric elements, though in each case the influence of the dialect spoken in the place of their birth is evident too.[3]

What we find in Alcman is a side of Spartan society that complements the military picture found in Tyrtaeus. Alcman himself alludes to the importance of music at Sparta, saying that the playing of the lyre competes with martial pursuits (41 = 143 Calame), and Pindar echoes this (fr. 199). Alcman and Tyrtaeus were probably alive in the same Sparta. There has always been debate whether Alcman was born in Sparta or in Sardis. The former is more probable, the only piece of internal evidence we have to connect him with Sardis being fr. 16 (= 8 Calame), where the reference to Sardis is not necessarily a reference to Alcman himself. An unwillingness in later times to believe that the closed and militaristic society of Sparta could ever have produced poets will have abetted a tendency to believe that Tyrtaeus' birthplace was Athens and Alcman's Sardis. Alcman is placed in the reign of Ardys (c. 652-c. 619) by the *Suda*, which, however, places Ardys earlier in the century. Eusebius offers either 659 or 609. Alcman seems to have mentioned King Leotychidas (5 fr. 2 col. i.14 = 80 Calame), and his reign was late in the seventh century. It seems likely, then, that Alcman belongs to the second half of the century, and he may have lived into the sixth.

Poetry

We are told in the *Suda* that Alcman's work comprised "six books, lyric poetry and the Κολυμβῶσαι." It is unclear what the "Diving Women" was, and whether or not the designation describes something apart from the six books. He was especially famous for his partheneia but may well have composed other types of choral poetry too. Probably because of the parochial nature of his poetry he was considered a difficult poet, and this explains why he attracted considerable attention from scholars in antiquity. Perhaps for the

[3] See Calame (above, note 1) xxxi-xxxii; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922) 101.

same reasons—he was not readily intelligible—time has dealt harshly with him, and no poem survives that is certainly complete. The remains show an extensive use of iambic, trochaic, and dactylic rhythms. Ancient metricians called the dactylic tetrameter the "Alcmanic:" fr. 27, three lines in this metre, is quoted by Hephaestion, who uses it as an example of a metre in which Alcman wrote entire strophes. It is the beginning of a poem, probably a partheneion, with an invocation and the actual mention (quite rare) of a chorus.

The only considerable piece of Alcman we have is the *Partheneion,* 101 lines in three papyrus-columns, discovered in 1855 by Mariette in Egypt and now in the Louvre (1 = 3 Calame). Of these three columns the first 34 lines (column i) are badly mutilated because of the disappearance of the left-hand side of the column, whereas lines 35-101 (columns ii and iii) may be restored with almost complete confidence. A coronis opposite the fifth line of column iii makes it clear that the poem ended only four lines after our text runs out. It is not known how much is missing at the beginning of the poem, but if one full column of 35 lines has been lost before our first column the whole would have consisted of 140 lines. The strophes are 14 lines long, with the metrical pattern abababab ccddef.[4] There are in addition two damaged sets of scholia for this poem, ΣA from the papyrus containing the poem and ΣB from Oxyrhynchus.

The first column contains the remains of a myth and moral reflection on the story told. The first surviving word is the name of Pollux (Polydeukes) and this followed by a list of names given, apparently, in *praeteritio* (οὐκ...ἀλέγω, 1; παρήσομες, 12). The names after Pollux are those of the dead sons of the Spartan King Hippocoon. They must have been killed either by the sons of Tyndareus, Castor and Pollux, or possibly by Heracles since later versions of the story exist in which Heracles gained the throne of Sparta for Tyndareus after he had been exiled by his brother Hippocoon. But Heracles is not mentioned in our fragment. The gnomic passage immediately following the catalogue (13-21) suggests that the story told was one of erotic violence; if this was the case, it is very possible that it was the story, mentioned by Euphorion, that the

[4] The first eight lines may be seen as four couplets, but if they are viewed as two identical strophes abab and abab, the whole may be thought of as our earliest example of triadic structure, with the last six lines an epode.

Tyndaridae were erotic rivals (ἀντιμνηστῆρες) of the Hippocoontidae.[5] After this (22-34) there are no commonly accepted supplements for the text; there seems to be mythical narrative again, but the subject is unclear. It is thus uncertain whether the story told is a new one or whether it is a continuation of the previous story. There is mention of an arrow (30) and of a marble millstone (31), and of death and misconduct (27, 31). This seems best to correspond to what we know about the fight of the Dioscuri, or Tyndaridae, with the Apharetidae, Idas and Lynceus. This myth is in some versions a story of cattle-rustling, in others a story of erotic rivalry. The latter well fits the tenor of the passage as a whole.[6]

In the better-preserved part of the papyrus, the chorus of maidens is engaged in a ritual presentation to a goddess. Two figures, Agido and Hagesichora, stand out from the choir and are clearly not members of the rank and file; it may be significant that both names are derived from words that mean "lead." The object presented is named as a φᾶρος (61). This would normally be understood to be a garment, but the scholiast tells us that one Sosiphanes, a commentator in antiquity, identified it as a plough; presumably he had some knowledge that made him say this. The goddess is identified as the Dawn-goddess (Ἀῶτις, 87) and this would correspond to the appellative Ὀρθρίαι of 61 if this word is a dative and not a feminine nominative plural referring to the chorus. Many candidates have been suggested for the goddess: Artemis (Orthia), Aphrodite, Helen, Eileithyia, and Phoebe.[7] Again, the relationship of Agido and Hagesichora is not clear. For those who follow Calame, the whole ceremony is a *rite de passage* that accompanies the transition from childhood to adulthood and Hagesichora is the leader supervising this ceremony. But Puelma has argued very persuasively for seeing Agido as the more important of two leaders in a religious ceremony. δευτέρα (58) is crucial to any understanding of the whole, but there are several candidates for second place and lack of agreement whether second place is opprobrious or

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[5] C. Calame, *Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* II: *Alcman* (Rome 1977) 55-57, thinks that the rivalry between the sons of Hippocoon and the sons of Tyndareus had to do with Helen, sister of Castor and Pollux.

[6] See, e.g., E. Robbins, "Alcman's *Partheneion*: Legend and Choral Ceremony," *CQ* 44 (1994) 7-17, and O. Gengler, "Les Dioscures et les Apharétides dans le *Parthénée* d'Alcman, (Frgt 3 Calame)," *EC* 63 (1995) 3-21.

[7] Robbins (preceding note) 9 n. 13.

complimentary: Agido is second to Hagesichora;[8] Hagesichora to Agido, but the comparison does not denigrate Hagesichora so much as set her in a class with her companion and apart from the rest of the choir;[9] "second" is a reference to the rank and file, who cannot compete with either of the two who are singled out;[10] "second" is not specific in its reference but applies to any maiden who might be compared to the superior two and is a rhetorical way of emphasising the beauty of both Agido and Hagesichora.[11]

Who in fact are the Peleiades or "Doves" mentioned in line 60? Many, following Page,[12] think that they are a rival choir. Still others take them to be the celebrated star-cluster with a reference here to the time of the performance, when these stars are visible. But it is most likely that we have here a reference to Agido and Hagesichora. The priestesses at Dodona were called "Doves" and other, animal names are found in cult in the Greek world: it is well known, for instance, that the devotees of Artemis at Brauron were called "Bears."

Is there in fact a competition and, if there is, what is the contest? Agonistic language is ubiquitous. For some it pits the maidens against the rival choir, while for Calame there is probably a foot-race occurring, but within the group, not against a rival choir. It seems most likely, on balance, that the language of war is playful exaggeration, a sustained metaphor; the competition suits the self-depreciation of the singing chorus, who proclaim that their own charms cannot compete with those of Agido and Hagesichora.

There is another catalogue of names at lines 70-76 and some or all of these must be names of members of the choir. But not all are names of girls present—Aenesimbrota (73), for instance, appears to be absent. The numbers ten and eleven seem to be important for lines 98 and 99 (with δεκ- actually in the text and ἕνδεκα to be restored to the text from the scholia): these numbers must bear some relation to the names of the catalogue at 70-76. But solutions are very varied and no single suggestion has met with general approval.

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8 Calame (above, note 1) 270.

9 Puelma (above, note 1) 29-31.

10 Page (above, note 1) 90.

11 C. O. Pavese, *Il grande Partenio di Alcmane* (*Lexis* Suppl. 1: Amsterdam 1992) 66.

12 Cf. Campbell (above, note 2) 2.365

One question that deserves to be asked is what relation there is between the mythical part of the poem and the occasion described in the less lacunose portion. Here we may hazard the conjecture that the myth, or myths, since they probably told of erotic violence, were a foil to the playful competition and erotic language of the ceremony, where rivalry certainly exists but is not deadly. Further, such a contrast may have served to emphasise peaceful passage to sexual maturity as pubescent maidens were presented to the community as ripe for legitimate marriage. The contrast between force and persuasion (βία and πειθώ) is a common one in Greek, and it usually works to reinforce the superior efficacy of the latter. The poem may enact this truth, with force (in the myth) ceding to grace in the ceremony, the whole underscored by a theme of competition. It is of particular interest in any case to note that in our first substantial piece of choral lyric we find the elements that we see so clearly two centuries later in the epinician odes of Pindar: there is a myth told, with attendant moralising and theological reflection, and there is much about the occasion and the performance.

Another papyrus-fragment (3 = 26 Calame), published in 1957, provides the much more fragmentary remains of another partheneion of Alcman. Here we appear to have had an original of 126 lines, 14 strophes of 9 lines each. The myth is entirely lost, as is the second column of 23 lines, but we are fortunate to have the beginning, with its invocation of the Muse. There are many elements familiar from the Louvre *Partheneion*. The choir seems to be performing in the early morning (7); it is carrying an offering, in this case a garland (65), though no divinity is mentioned, and it may be engaged in a competition, if ἀγῶν' (8) means "contest" and not simply "meeting-place," as it well may (cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* 10.30). Further, the maidens pay lavish compliment to the beauty of their leader Astymeloisa and play upon the etymology of her name (74). In both poems there is the same affectionate gaiety and delicacy. Many have emphasised the homoeroticism of the poetry,[13] though it is perhaps dangerous to do so, for we must remember that these were public performances before the city and meant to present to the community nubile young women ready for marriage and motherhood: praise of beauty is to be expected but

[13] E.g., Calame (above, note 1) 395.

it serves an encomiastic purpose that is not principally homoerotic.[14]

Of the papyrus-finds, none has cause a greater flurry than fr. 5 col. iii (= 81 Calame), published in 1957. This is a commentary on Alcman, with short quotations from the text it is interpreting. The surprise was to discover apparent evidence that Alcman engaged in cosmogonic speculation, naming Thetis as a primal demiurge who organised matter out of formlessness. Alcman became an honorary Presocratic philosopher, despite any previous evidence that he belonged in this company.[15] But Most has shown that it was a mistake to see a cosmogonist in Alcman.[16] What we have in the papyrus is a commentary by a scholar of the second century A.D. who knew Aristotelian philosophy and was applying interpretative techniques practised in his own time, in particular that of allegory, to elicit what he believed were the hidden meanings of Alcman's text. What he no doubt had before him was a partheneion that mentioned Thetis and her changes of shape when she wrestled with Peleus and took different forms in her attempt to elude him (cf. Pindar, *Nem.* 4.62-65). He understood this to refer to the emergence of different elements through the agency of the goddess. Most's demonstration is entirely convincing and gives us, in place of an unknown Alcman, the familiar poet who used myths that were appropriate to the situation of the Spartan girls who were uttering them. In this lost poem too there must have been a story of erotic struggle, leading in this case to a celebrated wedding attended by the gods. The point here was in all likelihood not the condemnation of erotic violence but the demonstration of the inevitability of marriage, in this case of a fated union.

There is little else among the other fragments of Alcman long enough to invite anything but the most tentative comment on possible context or to give us a further idea of the contents of his poetry. He was said by the *Suda* to be ἐρωτικὸς πάνυ εὑρετὴς...τῶν ἐρωτικῶν μελῶν. Fr. 58 (= 147 Calame) mentions the boy Eros (παῖς) who descends onto flowers and plays (παίσδει) there. Alcman may have been the first to introduce this figure, next found in Anacreon, into

[14] E. Stehle, *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece: Nondramatic Poetry in its Setting* (Princeton 1996) 30-39 (esp. 31-33), 73-88.

[15] See, e.g., G. S. Kirk, J. E. Raven, and M. Schofield, *The Presocratic Philosophers*² (Cambridge 1983) 47-49.

[16] G. W. Most, "Alcman's 'Cosmogonic' Fragment (fr. 5 Page, 81 Calame)," *CQ* 37 (1987) 1-19.

Greek poetry, and it has been suggested by Easterling that the venue here is the symposium, with the flowers those of the garlands worn there and the passion alluded to the familiar male homoeroticism.[17] There are in some of the excerpts, certainly, sentiments remarkably like those we find in the monodists, and lines like the following resemble utterances in Archilochus (191), Sappho (47, 130), Anacreon (358, 413 *PMG*), and even Ibycus (287 *PMG*)—the emphasis on repeated onslaught (δηὖτε) is entirely typical:

> Ἔρως με δηὖτε Κύπριδος ϝέκατι
> γλυκὺς κατείβων καρδίαν ἰαίνει (59[a] = 148 Calame).

But it is not impossible that this quotation comes from a maiden-song; statements such as that of the *Suda* about his erotic poetry may be based on nothing more than the erotic flavour that can be detected in the partheneia. Athenaeus, who quotes the above fragment (13.600f), introduces it with the testimony of two earlier scholars, Chamaeleon and Archytas, that Alcman was "a leader in erotic songs, the first to publish a licentious song, being prone in his habits to the pursuit of women." Athenaeus goes on to quote another passage (59[b] = 149 Calame) that is supposed to prove that Alcman fell wildly in love with one Megalostrata, a poetess, but the lines quoted refer only to Megalostrata's beauty and musical gifts and say nothing of his passion for her. They are much like the utterances we are familar with from the mouths of the maidens in the partheneia.

The well-known lines on the sleep of nature (89 = 159 Calame) have been much discussed. It is no longer fashionable to doubt their authenticity as once was the case,[18] but the abundance of apparently Homeric phrases is anomalous in our remains of Alcman and needs to be accounted for. Either we must believe that the paucity of our remains will not allow us to make accurate inferences about Alcman's language, or we must accept, with Calame, the idea that Alcman writes in an artificial poetic language that was never exactly coincident with his dialect and that would admit various admixtures of Doric, Aeolic, and Homeric phraseology. In fact there are no unquestionable Doric forms in the fragment as transmitted: editors commonly restore them (e.g.,

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17 P. E. Easterling, "Alcman 58 and Simonides 37," *PCPhS* 20 (1974) 37-41.

18 E.g. Wilamowitz, Maas, Fränkel, and Latte: see Calame (above, note 1) 574.

μελισσᾶν for μελισσῶν, 4) but they are not thoroughgoing, usually not changing the Ionic-Attic εὕδουσι (1, 6—Doric would be εὕδοντι). Calame, for instance, writes σῆρες for the received θῆρες of line 4. Whether or not this is correct, it is a valuable reminder that the texts of all our lyric poetry date from a period when the dialects in which they were composed were no longer understood, and that modern editors, who have a better knowledge of the dialects than did Alexandrian scholars, often have difficult decisions to make, since the temptation to restore a "correct" form in a passage may not take into account a deliberate use by a poet of a form that was available in a literary dialect.[19]

The poem on the sleep of nature is probably incomplete, though the ring-composition of the lines, framed by εὕδουσι in the first and last lines, suggests that the six lines form a unit. It is tempting to see in them a passage that contrasts the quiet of nature, describing all animate and inanimate nature asleep in a peaceful night (though night is not explicitly mentioned), with human restlessness. The opening of *Iliad* 2 foreshadows this contrast, and it becomes a commonplace in Hellenistic literature and Roman poetry;[20] some have even thought that the poem of Alcman must have been the archetype of the later passages. Moreover, the passage bears a similarity to Ibycus 286, where the quiet of a natural setting is juxtaposed with the turbulence in the poet's heart. The other explanation of the lines that is most often entertained is that they describe the hush in the landscape that precedes the appearance of a god; the parallel adduced is Eur. *Bacch.* 1084 ff. If the lines are part of the description of a ritual, including an epiphany, it may be in honour of Artemis[21] or, as in the passage from Euripides, Dionysus. Some substance is lent to the latter hypothesis by fr. 56 (= 125 Calame), where a habitual scene with female devotees on a mountain peak is described, with activities that seem likely to be Dionysiac.

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19 It is in fact ironic that the epigraphical evidence suggests that θῆρες, which is the Homeric form, is in fact the form that would have been used in the Laconian of Alcman's day, the σ for θ being a convention that was established after the fourth century B.C. But since our earliest evidence, the papyri, have σ for θ (cf. the Louvre *Partheneion passim*) and since all our citations must go back to the Alexandrian edition, there is never an attempt made to restore what must have been the earliest written form of the text.

20 Cf. Apoll. Rhod. 3.744 ff.; Theocr. 2.38 ff.; Virg. *Aen.* 4.522.

21 See Calame (above, note 1) 574.

STESICHORUS

The notice in the *Suda* says that he was called Stesichorus "because he was the first to establish a chorus of singers to the cithara" (πρῶτος κιθαρῳδίᾳ χορὸν ἔστησεν) and that his name was originally Tisias.[1] It is as a composer of choral poetry that he has traditionally been described in accounts of Greek literature. But with the coming to light in the past thirty years of papyrus fragments that give us a much better idea of the extent and nature of his poetry the emphasis has shifted: the number of those who think of him as a composer of choral song is diminishing and there is an increasing tendency now to place him in a citharodic tradition.[2] The model most frequently cited is Demodocus in *Odyssey* 8.256-260, who plays the *phorminx* while Phaeacian youths dance.[3] There remains the possibility that Stesichorus' career began with the composition of choral poetry and that he turned at a later point in his life to citharodic narrative,[4] but there is no evidence in the remains for such a development and it is thus a very dubious hypothesis to posit that he composed different sorts of poetry at different stages in his career.[5]

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1 In addition to Davies, *PMGF* and Page, *PMG* and *SLG*, see J. Vürtheim, *Stesichoros' Fragmente und Biographie* (Leiden 1919). For the so-called Lille fragment, see P. J. Parsons, "The Lille 'Stesichorus'," *ZPE* 26 (1977) 7-36, and J. M. Bremer, "Stesichorus: 'The Lille Papyrus'," in J. M. Bremer, A. Maria van Erp Taalman Kip, and S. R. Slings, *Some Recently Discovered Greek Poems* (*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 99: Leiden 1987) 128-174. For further bibliography, see D. E. Gerber, *Lustrum* 36 (1994) 50-89.

2 For instance, Gentili, *Poetry* 125; P. Lerza, *Stesicoro: tre studi* (Genoa 1982) 28-29; M. L. West, "Stesichorus," *CQ* 21 (1971) 302-314, at 307-313. See the remarks of M. Davies, "Monody, Choral Lyric, and the Tyranny of the Handbook," *CQ* 38 (1988) 52-64, at 52-53.

3 *Iliad* 18.604-606 provides a similar scene, with a singer playing the lyre while a chorus dances. The line mentioning the lyre-singer is not in the manuscripts because it was deleted by Aristarchus and so the case is not clear-cut. But if it is removed the dancers are left with no music at all and hence it should probably be retained.

4 C. Segal, "Stesichorus," in *Early Greek Poetry*, edd. P. E. Easterling and B. M. W. Knox (*The Cambridge History of Classical Literature* I.1: Cambridge 1989) 146.

5 It was once fashionable to assume that there was such a development in the career of Ibycus (see L. Woodbury, "Ibycus and Polycrates," *Phoenix* 39 [1985] 193-320, at 195 = *Collected Writings* [Atlanta 1991] 410-438, at 412), with a Sicilian period of choral composition giving way to a Samian period of

The most famous name in early citharodic poetry is that of Terpander. Originally from Lesbos he was active in Sparta of the early seventh century. Very few, if any, fragments of his work have survived.[6] He seems to have been an important innovator in music, for he is credited with having increased the number of strings of the lyre from four to seven and to have established musical nomes to which he sang poetry, Homer's, and perhaps his own. It is possible that he used metres that are fore-runners of the dactylo-epitrite.[7] This metre, of such importance in the poetry of Pindar, is found, perhaps for the first time in Greek poetry, in Stesichorus.[8] It is a loose combination of dactylic units with units containing a single short (usually analysed as cretics) to form lines that may vary in length and from each other. The so-called *asynarteta* of Archilochus (e.g., frr. 168-171, 191), with their individual combinations of dactylic and iambic or trochaic elements, show a similar fusion of cola with two shorts and one short.[9] This seems to have been an important and early development in early Greek verse: in Alcman, for instance, dactylic lines combine with trochaic. Thus from the very beginning we see poetry that combines trochees or iambs with dactyls (or anapaests) as well as the unmixed forms—the dactylic hexameter and the iambic trimeter.[10] The dactylo-epitrite lends itself especially well to narration, and the poetry of Stesichorus was classified in antiquity as ἔπη, for it was suited to epic themes. Stesichorus was, in Quintilian's famous phrase, *epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem* (*Inst. or.* 10.1.62). All this is consonant with his having been a citharode in the tradition of Terpander, an ἀοιδός of the sort we know of from Homer. He may well have instituted choruses as part of his presentations, but the choruses need not have sung his work. Burkert continues to maintain that he was a choral poet.[11] If he

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monody, but the theory is on the whole a curiosity now.

[6] Page (*PMG* p. 362) says "*fragmenta melica exstant me iudice nulla.*" A. Gostoli, *Terpander* (Rome 1990) accepts six as genuine.

[7] Gostoli (preceding note) 129.

[8] M. Haslam, "Stesichorean Metre," *QUCC* 17 (1974) 7-57, at 51-53.

[9] Kirkwood, *EGM* 43

[10] The very first extant Greek inscription, the so-called Nestor's Cup from the island of Ischia dating from the late eighth century, shows a combination of dactylic and iambic lines. See A. Heubeck, *Schrift* (*Archaeologia Homerica. Die Denkmäler und das frühgriechische Epos*, edd. F. Matz and H.-G. Buchholz. III.10: Göttingen 1979) 109-116.

[11] W. Burkert, "The Making of Homer in the Sixth Century B.C.:

was, the remarkable prevalence of speeches in the newly discovered fragments suggests that individual parts were taken by members of the choir and in this case we would have an important fore-runner of tragedy. Stesichorus was universally credited in antiquity with having invented triadic structure;[12] this, Burkert believes, is the strongest argument in favour of choral composition. But it is questionable whether triadic structure implies a particular type of performance; it seems rather to be a principle of composition. There is a common tendency in early Greek poetry to employ what Fränkel calls "Dreigliedrigkeit," or articulation in units of three;[13] similarly, West analyses both the Sapphic and Alcaic strophes as essentially triadic, with an identical line repeated (principle of strophe and antistrophe) and followed by a variation (principle of epode).[14] It is further to be observed that the poems of Stesichorus seem to say nothing whatsoever about occasion. In this they differ markedly from the choral lyric of Alcman or Pindar and, free of local markers, could have been performed anywhere in the Greek world. It is easier to imagine a travelling citharode performing them than to imagine, as Burkert does, travelling choirs, for which we lack clear evidence.

Stesichorus came from Magna Graecia. Tradition links him with both Sicily and south Italy (Mataurus). He was called "the Himeraean," which suggests links with the city of Himera on the north coast of Sicily, and he is reputed to have died in Catania. The dates in the *Suda* are c. 632 to c. 556 and while they are suspect as being based on synchronisation with other poets—the first gives him a *floruit* of a conventional forty years after Alcman while the second puts his death in the year of the birth of Simonides[15]—they are generally accepted as not unlikely and would put his long

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Rhapsodes versus Stesichoros," in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and his World* (Malibu 1987) 43-62.

[12] The *Suda*, s.v. τρία Στησιχόρου, says that it was proverbial to accuse an uneducated person of not knowing even "the three of Stesichorus," i.e. strophe, antistrophe, and epode. See M. Davies, "The Paroemiographers on τὰ τρία τῶν Στησιχόρου," *JHS* 102 (1982) 206-210

[13] Fränkel, *EGPP* 517 (German edition, 591-592).

[14] West (above, note 2) 313. The short Adonic of the Sapphic stanza is, on this attractive analysis, attached to the third Sapphic to make a longer third line; similarly the last two lines of the Alcaic strophe are joined to create a line that is longer (and metrically different) from the first two which are identical.

[15] Simonides mentions Stesichorus by name (564 *PMG*).

working life almost wholly within the sixth century. Though he attracted nothing like the learned commentary that Alcman did, it was observed (*Suda*) that he wrote in the Doric dialect. What we find in the new papyrus fragments is a language with the mixture of Homerisms, Doric and literary Aeolic that is familiar as the poetic *koine* known in mainland Greece and exported to its colonies; this language was available to citharodic poets like Terpander as well as to choral poets like Alcman in early Sparta. We find essentially the same language in Ibycus, a younger contemporary of Stesichorus; in fact there is disagreement about the attribution of some of the recently discovered papyri, the language not serving to distinguish between the two poets.[16]

Poetry

The *Suda* also tells us that the works of Stesichorus were collected in 26 books. This is an unusually large number. Since he was cited by title rather than by book-number, it is likely that each book contained one poem. These works may have been very considerable indeed, for a sign on a papyrus-fragment (S 27) of the *Geryoneis* indicates line 1300 and this may have come well before the end of the poem. And his *Oresteia* was in two books. We have the following titles: *Funeral Games of Pelias, Geryoneis, Cerberus, Cycnus, Oresteia, Sack of Troy, Homecomings, Helen, Boar-Hunters, Eriphyle, Europia,* along with titles of poems that are generally regarded as spurious—*Calyce, Daphnis, and Rhadine* (277-279). One feature of his poetry that attracted the notice of ancient commentators was his originality in matters of myth (193.17-18) and we are told, for instance, that he was the first to have Athena born fully armed from the head of Zeus (see 233), the first to portray Heracles in his garb of lion skin and carrying a club and a bow (229). It was once the fashion to attribute to the lost works a formative influence on the development of Greek myth, with idiosyncratic versions that varied from the more traditional stories of Homer and Hesiod. But Philip Brize has subjected all the stories attributed to Stesichorus to a careful analysis and compared these versions to what is known

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16 E.g. P. Oxy. 2735 (= Ibycus S 166-219) is ascribed by some scholars to Stesichorus. Identity of dialect has is some cases led to difference of opinion in attribution in the case of Sappho and Alcaeus too.

through iconography.[17] His conclusions (28-29) are very sobering and suggest that Stesichorus and the vase-painters and other artists were legatees of a rich and varied oral tradition that they both inherited and exploited. In the case of the birth of Athena and the garb of Heracles, for instance, there is visual evidence that antedates Stesichorus; he may have introduced certain elements into his poetry but this does not mean that he made them up.[18]

Our most valuable find for purposes of getting some idea of the span and rhythm of a long poem of Stesichorus is the extensive but very damaged fragments belonging to the *Geryoneis*. It is the leisurely pace of the narrative, with so much of the poem evidently given over to speeches, that has made it difficult to continue to believe that such a poem can have been sung by a choir. Previous to the publication and ordering of the pieces by Page in 1973 (= S 7-87)[19] only three quotations had been known: one mentions the cup of the sun in which Heracles travelled (185); one describes the place on the Spanish mainland near the river Tartessus (modern Guadalquivir) where Eurytion, the herdsman of Geryon, was born (184); and one describes the cup which Pholus the centaur offered to Heracles (181). Since the papyrus-fragments have allowed the reconstitution of the metrical scheme of an entire triad, it has been possible to reprint the previously known fragments showing lacunae and inaccuracies in the quotations as well as the likely disposition of their metrical cola. It has also become possible to distinguish many of the actors in the drama. They include, in addition to Geryon and Eurytion, Callirhoe, the Oceanid mother of Geryon, Erythia, the Hesperid mother of Eurytion and eponym of the island on which Geryon lives, and Menoetes, the herdsman of the kine of Hades and companion of Eurytion.[20] It is clear that the gods are active and given speaking roles too (S 14).

Fragments S 7 and S 8 describe the birth of Eurytion and his later arrival on the island where he was to tend to the cattle.

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[17] P. Brize, *Die Geryoneis des Stesichoros und die frühe griechische Kunst* (Beiträge zur Archäologie 12: Würzburg 1980).

[18] Brize 24-25. Page speculates, for instance (*PMG* pp. 95-96), on the possible influence of the *Oresteia* of Stesichorus on the metopes from the Heraeum at the mouth of the Sele river near Paestum. But Brize (19) shows that this is most unlikely.

[19] See D. L. Page, "Stesichorus: *The Geryoneïs,*" *JHS* 93 (1973) 138-154.

[20] The attribution of the speeches is sometimes self-evident, sometimes helped by the brief account in Apollodorus (2.5.10) which may well be a *résumé* of the poem of Stesichorus.

Heracles must have commandeered the cup of the sun for his passage from the continent to the island of Erythia and back again with the cattle after he had killed Geryon. The famous fragment may refer either to his arrival on Erythia or to his arrival back on the mainland, whereupon he returned the cup to the sun who then used it for his night voyage back to the land whence he would depart in his chariot on the morrow for his daily voyage. Menoetes seems to be the one who warns Geryon of the approach of Heracles, who has despatched Eurytion and his dog Orthus upon arrival in Erythia.[21] It is not immediately apparent why there should be two herdsmen on the island Erythia, but Vürtheim, remembering that Stesichorus is credited by Aelian (279) with the invention of pastoral poetry, remarked that the supplying of Eurytion with a companion creates a situation well known from pastoral, i.e., the possibility of amoebaean song between herdsmen.[22] Geryon's own name is cognate with γῆρυς and γηρύω. Vürtheim further speculates (20) that the poem must have dilated on the geography of the West, and, while not provable, this is highly plausible. In addition to the description of the Tartessus and of the island of Erythia we know that Stesichorus mentioned in the poem the island called Sarpedon in the stream of Ocean.[23] Just as the *Odyssey*, composed on the shore of Asia Minor, shows particular interest in the geography of the Black Sea and no doubt draws on sailors' stories, the *Geryoneis*, composed in Sicily, shows a parallel interest in the western sea.

When Menoetes begs Geryon to avoid confrontation with Heracles, Geryon answers with a speech (S 11) that has something in common with the famous statement of the heroic ideal in the *Iliad* (12.322 ff.) but is also invested with a memorable originality. Geryon will fight because he is mortal, and in this he is like Sarpedon. But his alternative to dying is to "reach hateful old age" (age has the pejorative evaluation here that it does in Mimnermus but does not have in Homer);[24] and if he refuses to fight he leaves a

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21 Menoetes, if as is likely he is present in the poem, is probably spared. He will meet Heracles again when the latter descends to Hades for Cerberus (Apollodorus 2.5.12).

22 Vürtheim (above, note 1) 21.

23 The *Cypria* (fr. 24 Allen = 32 Bernabé = 26 Davies) says that the Gorgons lived on this island.

24 Old age in Homer is normally a time of fulfilment and honour and people do not fear it; it is unpleasant only if external circumstances, like

legacy of reproach (ὀνειδ[, 22) to his family, reproach (ἐλέγχεα, 11-12) being a luxury which only gods can afford to incur. And so Geryon goes unflinching to the unequal combat. The duel is preceded by an appeal from his mother, who bares her breast to him like Hecuba of *Iliad* 22.83 ff., though she has much in common too with Thetis, another divine mother who laments her own lot in bearing a short-lived son (*Iliad* 1.414-416). It may be no simple coincidence that the new fragments of Stesichorus have given us another fraught scene, in the Lille Papyrus, where a mother tries to prevent her children from fighting.

The description of Geryon's death (S 15) must have been famous in antiquity; here and only here, there seems to be an instance where the literary description influenced the vase-painters.[25] Heracles shoots an arrow into one of the three heads, from which the helmet has been struck, and the arrow pierces the brow, causing the head to droop like a damaged flower. The description of the death of a monster makes the creature human and sympathetic.

The *Cerberus* and the *Cycnus* were poems about Heracles too.[26] Several of Stesichorus' poems—*Sack of Troy, Helen, Returns, Oresteia* —were concerned with myths of the Trojan Cycle. In addition to the several testimonia to the *Sack of Troy* (*Iliupersis*) that were previously known (196-205) there is now a collection of fragments from P.Oxy. 2619 (S 88-132). The two most substantial of these (S 88-89) are about the Trojan Horse; the other pieces are too fragmentary to give much sense of the drift, though S 104 appears to be a lament by Helen for her daughter Hermione.[27] Fragments S 133-147 are from another papyrus (P. Oxy. 2803) and contain a poem the title of which is given by the papyrus as the *Wooden Horse* (S 133b). This title was previously unknown. It is not clear whether or not what we have here is the same poem as the *Sack of Troy,* but attempts have been made to join fragments from the two papyri (S

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poverty or war or the death of children, make it so.

[25] See Brize (above, note 17) 60-61.

[26] The *Scylla* (220) has a very shadowy existence. There may have been a poem with this name by Stesichorus and it may have been concerned with Heracles (Vürtheim [above, note 1] 26-27).

[27] It may be a lament by Demeter for Persephone, who was called Hermione in Sicily: see D. L. Page, "Stesichorus: The 'Sack of Troy' and 'The Wooden Horse' (P. Oxy. 2619 and 2803)," *PCPhS* 19 (1973) 46-65, at 56. But in any case we have (Lerza [above, note 2] 49-50) a third instance of a mother concerned with the fate of her children. Unfortunately the tiny fragments of the *Boar-Hunters* do not allow us to see how Stesichorus treated Althaea.

105). The *Trojan Horse* may have been either an alternative title for the poem or the name of one book of a longer work.[28] A Roman monument of the Augustan era has relief-illustrations of scenes from the "Sack of Troy according to Stesichorus" on it (205). Since these include a central scene of the departure of Aeneas with Anchises, there has been much debate whether the inspiration can really be the poem of Stesichorus, with most scholars inclining to scepticism.[29]

Helen was clearly important in several poems—the *Sack of Troy*, the *Helen*, and the *Homecomings* (*Nostoi*) of which the only remaining fragment (209) describes her interpreting a portent to Telemachus. Most famous of all Stesichorus' poems in antiquity was the so-called Palinode, of which Plato in the *Phaedrus* quotes three lines (192), saying that Stesichorus, blinded for his slander of Helen, recognised the reason for his affliction and composed the recantation (= palinode) which caused his sight to be restored. The whole discussion of the poem was much complicated by the publication of a papyrus commentary on Stesichorus (193) that quotes the first lines of two palinodes, and other evidence has come to light, printed by Davies in his apparatus, that seems to corroborate that there *were* in fact two palinodes. What their relation to each other was, or in which poem the slander occurred, is still unclear. But it seems on the whole likely that the palinodes were separate poems from the original in which the poet spoke ill of Helen. The papyrus says that Stesichorus criticises Homer in one palinode and Hesiod in the other for their accounts of Helen. What seems certain is that Stesichorus was concerned with correcting the version that sent Helen to Troy, for we know from a passage in Plato's *Republic* (9.586c) that Stesichorus maintained that the war at Troy was fought over a phantom. Somehow Stesichorus exculpated Helen, absenting her from Troy, and he criticised poets who promulgated the story of her actual presence at Troy and gave her responsibility for the city's destruction. His own final version was, apparently, that Helen spent the war-years with Proteus in Egypt (193.15-16). This version of the myth later became popular: we find it, for instance, in the *Helen* of Euripides but we do not know for

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[28] Page (preceding note) 64-65, is not persuaded that the poems are the same or that they should be joined.

[29] See D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric* (Cambridge, Mass. 1982-1993) 2.107, Brize (above, note 17) 20.

certain whether it originated with Stesichorus.[30] The blindness referred to looks like an incident from literary history that has been turned into biography. Stesichorus may well have said in the emended version that he was blind to the truth when he composed in the manner of earlier poets: the idea of figurative blindness, or ignorance of truth, is deep-rooted in Greek, the best known instance being in the imagery of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles.

The *Oresteia*, in two books (210-219), was also famous. Influential in fifth-century Athens, it was quoted by Aristophanes in the *Peace* (211-212). Several motifs found in the tragedians may have been taken from Stesichorus, who in turn may have been the first to use them in literature: Iphigeneia summoned to Aulis on the pretext of marrying Achilles (217); the dream of Clytemnestra, which in Stesichorus as in Aeschylus is of a snake (219); the recognition of Orestes and Electra[31] at the tomb of Agamemnon, in Stesichorus as in Aeschylus facilitated by a lock of hair (217); Orestes protecting himself against the Furies with a bow given to him by Apollo (217), found again in the *Orestes* of Euripides. The main difference between the Stesichorean version and what we know from epic is the primary responsibility given to Clytemnestra for the death of Agamemnon. Stesichorus may have been crucial in giving the story the new emphasis that it everywhere has in tragedy. But his *Oresteia* was set in Laconia, not in Mycenae or Argos.

None of the papyrus-discoveries had, however, yielded more than a dozen lines of unbroken text until 1977 when a long fragment, called the "Lille Papyrus," was published, with thirty-three virtually intact lines. The attribution, based on the dialect, metre, and the general similarity (e.g., importance of speeches) to what we had already learned about Stesichorus from the previous papyrus-discoveries, has strengthened the convictions of those who felt that the style was more citharodic than choral. The great surprise was to find a speech from the mother of Eteocles and Polynices, for there was no known title of Stesichorus from the Theban cycle, the

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[30] Herodotus has a story which he got from Egyptian priests (2.113-117) that Helen spent the years of the Trojan War in Egypt. Since he improbably maintains that Homer knew this version and suppressed it, both his testimony and the antiquity of the story are suspect. Hecataeus (*FGrHist* 1 F 307-309) and Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F 153) both know the story of Helen in Egypt but do not specifically say that Stesichorus was the source.

[31] Stesichorus is said to have had a predecessor Xanthus who composed an *Oresteia*, that introduced Electra's name into the story (699-700 *PMG*).

closest being the *Eriphyle,* and there have not been lacking scholars who want to attribute the new discovery to the known poem.[32] Worthy of note perhaps is that the division of inheritance proposed between the brothers twice mentions the χρυσόν that Polynices will take to Argos (222, 239). This may well point to the golden necklace of Harmonia with which Eriphyle was later bribed to send Amphiaraus and which caused Alcmaeon to murder her (ΣPind. *Pyth.* 3.94).

The speaker of the lines, who is addressing Tiresias at the outset and who turns at 218 to her sons, is not named. Some have seen in her Jocasta; others, thinking that Stesichorus accepts the version of the *Odyssey* (11.271-280) where Jocasta (or Epicasta as she is called in Homer) seems not to have borne children to Oedipus and to have committed suicide upon discovery of the incest while Oedipus lived on after her death, call the speaker Euryganeia, the name given by the epic *Oedipodia* to a second and non-incestuous wife.[33] It is, again, uncertain whether Oedipus is dead, or alive in the palace and disinherited as the Queen speaks. Remarkable about the fragment is the way it, like the *Oresteia,* anticipates tragedy. Tiresias is, for the first time, present as adviser to the House of Labdacus, and seems to have just revealed the will of Apollo (209), who here, as in the *Oresteia,* is closely concerned with the fortunes of a tragic family: the alternatives expressed by the Queen at 216-217, who sees a disjunction between her family or the city surviving, recalls Aeschylus *Septem* 745-749, where Laius was faced with a similar dilemma. If the Queen is Jocasta, then Euripides in the *Phoenissae* is drawing on a precedent he knew from Stesichorus when he allows her to live on after the discovery of incest and when he has her try to mediate between the quarreling brothers. There is something that anticipates Sophocles' Jocasta too in this Queen who wishes to evade what the oracle has pronounced.

The better-preserved part of the papyrus makes it clear that Tiresias has revealed a prophecy of Apollo and that the Queen, hoping to escape the full horror of what she has heard, proposes a

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32 See Segal (above, note 4) 156 n.1; J. March, *The Creative Poet: Studies on the Treatment of Myth in Greek Poetry* (*BICS* Suppl. 49: London 1987) 131-133. The metrical scheme of the Lille Papyrus does not correspond exactly to that of the fragments (S 148-150) tentatively assigned to the *Eriphyle.*

33 ἐπ' ἄλγεσι of the first surviving line may mean "additional" woes and so point to the discovery of incest; but it may mean simply "with accompanying woes."

way out of the fratricidal strife that is threatening. She suggests a division of the patrimony, with the drawing of lots to determine who will remain in Thebes and who will depart with the "cattle and the gold." Tiresias and the sons seem to concur just as the continuous text ends. In what follows enough can be read to make out that the casting of lots took place and that Polynices lost and left Thebes. Tiresias seems to prophesy the future marriage of Polynices to the daughter of Adrastus of Argos and to foretell that the strife will continue. This suggests that he has concurred only because he heard the Queen phrase her solution as a *postponement* of the fulfilment of the oracle (ἀμβάλλων, 230); as a seer he must know that it is not possible to escape the fratricide, but he can accept the Queen's desperate expedient for the moment.

The long poems of Stesichorus, inasmuch as we can now catch a glimpse of how he composed, make us understand why he was so often compared to Homer (e.g., *Anth. Pal.* 7.75; 9.184.3). If it is *prima facie* easier to think of these poems as sung by a bard rather than by a chorus, it must be remembered that the longer poems of Pindar and of Bacchylides in particular[34] show the same fondness for dramatic confrontation and for speeches: in Bacchylides 5 the bulk of the poem is a series of exchanges between Meleager and Heracles and the narration of the hunt for the Calydonian boar is put into the mouth of Meleager, while in the Fourth *Pythian* there is an elaborate dialogue between Jason and Pelias. It will not be surprising to find that since there has come to be doubt about the choral nature of the poems of Stesichorus there has arisen at the same time questions whether the performance of epinician poetry was always, or even usually, choral.

[34] Segal (above, note 4) 160 calls Bacchylides the successor of Stesichorus.

SIMONIDES

The date traditionally accepted for the birth of Simonides is the first of two possibilities given by the *Suda*; it is the 56th Olympiad (556/552 B.C.), which is the date the *Suda* gives for the death of Stesichorus; his death is placed in the 78th Olympiad (468/464) and it is specified that he lived for 89 years.[1] The *Suda* also reports that some authorities put the birth of Simonides a generation later, in the 62nd Olympiad (532/528 B.C.), and while this date has been strenuously defended[2] there has not on the whole been general acceptance of the lower chronology. The chief reason that the later dating has seemed attractive is that, of many associations reported for the poet in the course of his life, the most securely fixed poetry is from the time of the Persian Wars and there has been some reluctance to make the best attested activity in his life the period of his advanced age. We have a long life with few other episodes that can be precisely dated.

Poetry

Simonides was in the Alexandrian canon of the nine lyric poets, but he is the only one for whom no precise number of books can be ascertained. In addition, or perhaps as a consequence, it is difficult to assign the remaining fragments to specific genres in the majority of cases, and we see considerable discrepancy among ancient authorities in naming the types of composition. The *Suda* speaks of dirges (θρῆνοι), encomia, epigrams, paeans, tragedies, "and other works." There is no trace of tragedies by Simonides; scholars generally assume that he composed dramatic dithyrambs of a sort

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[1] The lyric fragments of Simonides are collected by Page, *PMG* and the remains of elegy are edited by West, *IEG*²; for the epigrams ascribed to the poet, see D. L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge 1982) 186-302. Further bibliography is collected by D. E. Gerber, *Lustrum* 36 (1994) 129-152. Vol. 29 no. 2 (1996) of *Arethusa* is devoted entirely to the new elegiac fragments of Simonides, but appeared too late to be taken into account here.

[2] L. A. Stella, "Studi Simonidei I. Per la cronologia di Simonide," *RFIC* n.s. 24 (1946) 1-24. J. H. Molyneux, *Simonides: A Historical study* (Wauconda, Ill. 1990) argues in great detail for acceptance of the earlier dating.

familiar to us from Bacchylides and that these were taken as tragedies, to which they bore some resemblance. We know in addition that Simonides was crucial in the development of the epinician ode, of which fragments survive, and that he composed hymns (e.g., 576, 589 *PMG*), a probable propempticon (580 *PMG*), "prayers" or "curses" (κατευχαί, 537, 538 *PMG*),[3] while among the "convivalia" or elegies for performance at symposia (19-33 *IEG*) there may have been scolia. Mention of a category called "Compound" or "Miscellaneous" (σύμμικτα, 540 *PMG*) seems further to indicate Alexandrian confusion in the classification. The *Suda* gives in addition the titles of long works in elegiacs such as "The Reign of Cambyses and Darius" and "The Sea-Battle of Artemisium." It also lists "The Sea-Battle at Salamis" in lyric metres.

Simonides, so far as we can tell, was the first poet to write odes for victors in the crown games of Greece. Most interesting in the testimonia and the quotations of these poems (506-519 *PMG*)[4] is the frequent connection of the victors with the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux. We are told by Pindar (*Ol.* 9.1-2) that an old refrain by Archilochus was sung for the victor at Olympia, and the scholiast on the passage in question quotes it. But aristocrats must have begun in the sixth century to demand more elaborate celebration than the chanting of simple refrains, and when games at Delphi, Nemea, and the Isthmus were added to those at Olympia poets were commissioned. Ὕμνοι were addressed directly to gods and since this is the word most often used by the epinician poets of their songs, it is tempting to see a hymn for the divinised Heracles as fore-runner of the *epinikion* for mortals,[5] a partial secularisation of the genre. The term Kastor- or Iolaos-song is used by Pindar (*Pyth.* 2.69, *Isth.* 1.16) and this too suggests a song for superhuman ἀθληταί. Καστόρειον (Castor-Song) has been called "simply synonymous" with *epinikion*.[6] At Olympia Heracles and the Dioscuri attend and administer the games (Pindar, *Ol.* 3.34-37). It is accordingly interesting to note that Simonides says that not even Pollux (a boxer) or Heracles "would have lifted hands" against Glaucus of Carystus (509 *PMG*). This extravagant praise suggests the extreme

[3] Page *ad loc.* thinks that this was the title of a single poem, not of a book.

[4] 519 *PMG* is a collection of 166 papyrus-fragments, most very tiny, from epinician poetry and paeans.

[5] Heracles is the archetypal ἀθλητής because of his performance of labours (ἆθλοι).

[6] Fränkel, *EGPP* 435 n. 18 (German edition, 494 n. 18).

youth of the victor,[7] for such a compliment might appear hybristic if addressed to an older man, and it also suggests a certain humour in Simonides' style which we do not find in Pindar and Bacchylides.[8] A story which was common in antiquity was that Simonides in his epinician poetry was told by a patron to collect part of his fee from the Dioscuri since he had in his commissioned song spent so much time praising them (510 *PMG*). The poet was summoned to the door by two youths; when he had exited the hall collapsed on the assembly. Simonides is said to have been able to identify all the bodies because he remembered where all the guests had been seated: the story is told as evidence of the poet's phenomenal memory, which was ascribed to his invention of an art of mnemonics, but it is equally interesting because of what it seems to say about the traditional role of the Dioscuri in epinician poetry.[9]

With Simonides we see clearly that the poet is, to a much greater degree than before, outside the social group for which he composes. Several sources say that Simonides was the first to work for pay.[10] He is a paid professional moving from one venue to another and composing upon commission from his patrons, who give him his fee. Links are repeatedly mentioned with the great houses of Thessaly and Sicily, and with the Pisistratid court in Athens.[11] In being the first to compose *epinikia* and to praise the

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[7] The victory is thus put at 520 B.C.; see Molyneux (above, note 2) 33-42.

[8] 507 *PMG* is a quotation from an epinikion that commenced with mentioned of how Crius, whose name means "ram," got "sheared" when he went to Olympia. Some have seen a good-natured play on words here, but it is more likely that there is cruel reference to his defeat and that the ode was for an Athenian enemy of the Aeginetan Crius: see D. L. Page, "Simonidea," *JHS* 71 (1951) 140-142.

[9] There is considerable debate as to how much truth there may be in the various parts of this story. But the point at issue here—that the Dioscuri were intimately associated with epinician poetry—is unconnected with the historicity of the event reported, for the story, even if untrue, undoubtedly arose because of mention of Castor and Pollux in odes for victors. Molyneux (above, note 2) 54 n. 2 interprets the passage in Quintilian to mean that he knew at least four odes that praised the Dioscuri.

[10] E.g., Callimachus fr. 222 Pf.; ΣPind. *Isth.* 2.9; ΣAr. *Pax* 698 (citing the criticism of Xenophanes); Chamaeleon *apud* Ath. 14.656d; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1121a6-7, *Rh.* 1391a8.

[11] The pseudo-Platonic *Hipparchus* 228b-c says that this son of Pisistratus brought Simonides and Anacreon to Athens, as does Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 18.1. The most famous story related about a sojourn of Simonides in Sicily is of his reconciling Hieron of Syracuse to Theron of Acragas and preventing war between them (Diod. Sic. 11.46; ΣPind. *Ol.* 2.15).

ἀρετή of the living, Simonides may have been the first to promote the link between possession of money and the celebration of success in poetry. This seems to have led to a rich anecdotal tradition about his venality and miserliness. Several sources mention his fondness for money, though the stories are stereotyped and not likely to reveal a biographical truth.[12] The most famous of the stories is told repeatedly:[13] Simonides maintained that he had two containers, in one of which he kept the money received for his poetry, in the other of which he kept the thanks (χάριτες) he received. This latter chest, he maintained, was always empty—the money-container was the only one of use. There may have been something in the poetry to give rise to this (623 *PMG* cites a word for "chest," for instance), but the stories most likely gained currency because of the new situation in which the poet found himself. The tradition also credited him with particular σοφία. This too may be a result of his association with the ruling-class of his time, for there is a long tradition of associating sages with rulers—one need only cite the traditional linking of Periander with Thales, Croesus with Solon, Pericles with Anaxagoras, and in myth Tiresias with the rulers of Thebes. As someone who received a fee for his services, Simonides was inevitably seen as a proto-sophist at a time when the earliest paid teachers were becoming notorious in the Greek world. And in the case of the sophists democratic prejudice seems to have influenced the popular picture, which became in part a caricature, and so Simonides easily became a clever miser (κίμβιξ and σοφός).

The two longest citations of the poetry of Simonides (542 & 543 *PMG*), have both been reconstructed as poetry from the prose of the authors who quote them. 542 is in fact from a discussion by Socrates with the sophist Protagoras in Plato's dialogue *Protagoras*. The piece, addressed to Scopas, has a long history of being analysed for its philosophic content and its importance in the history of Greek thought, since Simonides appears to be discussing what it means to be good and to be commending that man who of his own free will does nothing base. The heart of the piece is the apparent contradiction between an initial text that says approvingly that it is

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[12] See J. M. Bell, "*Kimbix kai sophos:* Simonides in the Anecdotal Tradition," *QUCC* 28 (1978) 29-86.

[13] In addition to the scholiast on Aristophanes (above, note 10), the scholiast to the hypothesis of Theocritus 16 and Stobaeus (*Ecl.* 3.10.38).

hard to be good, and a restatement of the same idea which attributes the maxim to the sage Pittacus, only to disapprove of it in the rephrasing. The extended discussion of such an issue, if it is in any way representative of much of the poetry that has been lost, makes it easy to understand why Simonides was assimilated to philosophers and sophists. But the recent tendency has not been to look for depth of philosophic doctrine or originality in the piece but to point to the strong emphasis on praise and blame in the poem.[14] This seems more helpful, for the doctrine expressed is not strikingly new, and it is consonant with praise of the great: what is said is that no one is so perfect as to be blameless and that praise and love (ἐπαίνημι καὶ φιλέω, [27], both words from the encomiastic repertoire) are merited by the person who does not do any more evil than ἀνάγκη obliges him to do. Read this way the lines may even be an apology for the regimes of the powerful. We see here our first extended excerpt from a praise-poem; the iambic poetry of blame is much older, for its practitioners did not rely on money to produce their work.[15]

A papyrus-fragment (541 *PMG*) which sets out much the same line of reasoning has been ascribed to Simonides because of the similarity of the ideas expressed to those in the poem for Scopas. It is said here that the desire for pleasure, ambition, or profit often militates against the desire for goodness and makes virtue difficult. Sentiments like this are not uncommon in the surviving snippets of the poetry of Simonides, but they are on the whole commonplace rather than original, even if Simonides' expression of them is especially fine. 579 *PMG* states that Virtue is enthroned in lonely and almost inaccessible isolation on a rocky crag; this is an adaptation of Hesiod, *Works and Days* 289 ff. The idea that man is

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[14] It is seen as belonging to an encomium and fitting easily into the genre by G. W. Most, "Simonides' Ode to Scopas in Contexts," in *Modern Critical Theory and Classical Literature,* edd. I. J. F. de Jong and J. P. Sullivan (Leiden 1994) 127-152. A. Carson, "How Not to Read a Poem: Unmixing Simonides from *Protagoras,*" *CP* 87 (1992) 110-130, finds it consonant with the epinician genre. A. Lesky, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*[2] (Bern and Munich 1963) 215 = Eng. tr. 188-189, classifies the poem as a scolion.

[15] The generally accepted view is that Simonides, who was allegedly in Athens during the time of the Pisistratids, left for Thessaly after the expulsion of Hippias in 511/510 B.C. This cannot be proved but is not unlikely. If it is correct, poems for Scopas will probably antedate the turn of the century. Pindar's first surviving praise-poem, *Pyth.* 10, is also for a Thessalian and is dated to 498 B.C.

ἀμήχανος and at the mercy of the gods is powerfully put forward in 526 and 527 *PMG*, but this was also given memorable expression in Archilochus. Fr. 584, which asks whether life is desirable without pleasure, is reminiscent of Mimnermus.[16] Fr. 531 is a brief quotation that seems to say that reputation is important because it survives us and "is last to sink beneath the earth." Again, it is not *per se* new, for the idea that fame lives on is as old as Greek poetry and was a sentiment particularly appropriate to epitaph and dirge. Especially noteworthy is how the emphasis on human fragility, something we see repeatedly in the citations from the poetry, became transformed in the tradition into an emphasis on money-making as the only human activity that had durable value. The Hibeh Papyrus 17 (c. 250 B.C.) attributes to Simonides the dictum that "all things grow old except money-making, and kind actions grow old most quickly of all." Since this is alleged to have been addressed to Hieron's wife, it provides a good example of how the new situation in which poets received money from patrons was understood to mean in the case of Simonides that he valued money more than the traditional goods of human life, especially when he had continued to emphasise, in the archaic manner, the ephemerality of human accomplishment (cf. 520, 521 *PMG*), and the horror of death, which is likened to the whirlpool of Charybdis (521 *PMG*). 520-527 *PMG*, that speak so eloquently of human vulnerability, are assigned to dirges, though not all these fragments are certainly attributable to this genre. A remarkable stylistic feature of these pieces is the poet's strong tendency to express himself in negative statements.

The second of the two long citations of Simonides we possess (543 *PMG*) is quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus for no other purpose than to show that a piece of poetry, allegedly from a triadic composition, reads like prose if the colometry is not known. It has been notoriously difficult, in fact, to restore it to anything that resembles triadic composition, for the responsions are all almost undetectable. The generally accepted presentation of the text now is that of Page,[17] and it seems to show that Dionysius chose in such

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[16] The publication of new papyri (19-20 *IEG*^{2}) has in fact led to the definite attribution to Simonides of a piece that, because of its similarity to Mimnermus 2, was formerly frequently ascribed to Semonides, who antedated Simonides by more than a century.

[17] See Page (above, note 8) 133-140.

a way as deliberately to hide the metrical correpondences: the first three lines of Page's printed text, part of the end of an antistrophe (1-7), seem to correspond to the last two and one-half lines (ἔπος...μοι) from the beginning of a strophe (21-27); the full epode intervenes (8-20), and so the quotation, with its minimal overlap, fools us and easily makes Dionysius' point. The piece is rightly admired as one of the treasures of Greek lyric. It is a description of Danae adrift with the infant Perseus on a menacing sea by night, speaking to her sleeping child and praying to Zeus, who she probably does not know is the father of her child.

We have no idea from what sort of poem this fragment comes. Because of its dramatic nature and mythical subject-matter it is often thought to be from a dithyramb; in its pathos and tenderness and its emphasis on emotion it seems to anticipate Euripides. There is considerable evidence for treatment of mythological subjects in Simonides: we hear, among others, of a dithyramb on Memnon (539 *PMG*), a poem called Europa (562 *PMG*),[18] and there are references to the Theseus-story (550, 551 *PMG*), and the Argonautic Saga (540, 544-548, 567? *PMG*). It is hard to imagine that the Danae-fragment could come from the myth of an epinician ode since the subject is not heroic, and we do not in any case have the evidence that would allow us to say whether Simonides used myth extensively, as Pindar and Bacchylides do, in his odes for victors. Bergk thought that the Europa-poem, with its long soliloquy by the abducted Europa, influenced Horace, *Odes* 3.27,[19] and indeed Simonides had considerable influence on the Roman poets. His pathetic effects were admired by Catullus, who peaks of something as *maestius lacrimis Simonideis* (38.8). The Danae-fragment resembles the Europa-poem we see in Horace: in both poems a maiden loved by Zeus is carried over the sea and in desperation appeals to heaven, there being a certain irony in the fact that the as yet unknown lover is Zeus himself. If there were several poems like this it may have given rise to the strange title κατευχαί.[20]

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[18] The scholiast on Homer says that Bacchylides and Hesiod told the Europa-story. It is usual to attribute this to the dithyrambs of Bacchylides (fr. 10), though it is not indicated by the source that the story was told in a dithyramb.

[19] See W. J. Oates, *The Influence of Simonides of Ceos upon Horace* (Princeton 1932).

[20] The story given by the Homeric scholiast as from the mysterious κατευχαί (537 *PMG*) is one known from Ovid, who is thought to have got it

Simonides was especially famous for his poetry connected with the Persian Wars. The famous lyric encomium of those who fell at Thermopylae (531 *PMG*) speaks of "this precinct of noble men" (ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅδε σηκός, 6) and may refer to a shrine at Sparta for Leonidas and the Three Hundred, or to a sanctuary at Thermopylae itself in honour of all those who died in engagements at the famous pass.[21] There are references to a lyric poem for the battle of Artemisium (532-534 *PMG*), possibly for performance at Athens at a shrine of the wind-god Boreas or at the Panathenaea; Boreas had given the Athenians help in the battle (Her. 7.188 ff.). The *Suda* mentions an elegy for Artemisium and a lyric poem for Salamis, but because the few quotations relating to Artemisium were lyric it had been believed that the *Suda* had reversed the genres and the battles. New evidence has, however, enlarged our knowledge of Simonides' poetry for the Persian Wars and it has become clear from the papyri that there was in fact an elegy for Artemisium, as the *Suda* states (1-4 *IEG*^{2}), as well as an elegy for Salamis (5-9 *IEG*^{2}). The *Suda* states that Simonides composed in the Doric dialect. The lyric fragments do show strong influence of Doric while the elegiac poems, as is to be expected, are in an Ionic-Homeric language.

One of the most startling papyrus publications of recent years has been extensive fragments of an elegy for Plataea by Simonides (10-14 *IEG*^{2}).[22] The proemium (10 *IEG*^{2}) may be an invocation of Achilles, and the poem continues with a compendious description of his death and burial with Patroclus and mention of the fall of Troy. The poet goes on to introduce Homer and his rôle in giving deathless glory to the warriors who fought at Troy and he then (19) takes leave of Achilles to summon the Muse to assist him in celebrating those who fought for Greece at Plataea. There is considerable detail discernible about the battle: mention of Pausanias and the Spartans, the Megarians, and the arrival of the Peloponnesian troops at the Isthmus. Many of the supplements are made

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from Simonides. Here too we have a story of maidens carried off and praying to a divinity who brings unexpected succour (*Met.* 13.669 ff.).

[21] See Molyneux (above, note 2) 186-187.

[22] The reconstituted long fragment (11 *IEG*^{2}), which allows West to offer about thirty lines of quite continuous text—now our longest piece of Simonides—, is the result of the combination of fragment 2327, known to E. Lobel and published in 1954 in Vol. 22 of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, with fragment 3965, published by P. Parsons in 1993 in Vol. 59.

possible by reference to the account in Herodotus and considerable space seems to be devoted to the prophecy of Tisamenes given in Herodotus (9.36) before the papyrus runs out. The appearance of this poem strongly supports the theory that elegy was performed publicly.[23] It has been suggested that the occasion may have been the Festival of the Eleutheria at Plataea, and that poets like Simonides may have entered competitions with elegies as they did with their tragedies at other festivals. This would give new meaning to the old story that Aeschylus left Athens because he was defeated by Simonides in a competition to compose an elegy for Marathon (*Vita Aeschyli* 8).[24]

There is no area in which Simonides held such undisputed preeminence as in the composition of elegy. Ironically, it is just this pre-eminence that has rendered it almost impossible to isolate with certainty the compositions that are his. For throughout antiquity, from the time Simonides was alive to the time the Palatine Anthology was put together, epigrams and elegiac couplets were ascribed to him almost indiscriminately. There is only one epigram that all authorities are agreed is unquestionably his; it is the one quoted by Herodotus (7.228) who says it was inscribed by Simonides as an epitaph for his friend the seer Megistias who died at Thermopylae. Even the words used by Herodotus do not put the matter beyond all doubt, for he says that Simonides was the one ἐπιγράψας, which technically means only that he provided and paid for the inscription, but almost all authorities are willing to believe that Herodotus means us to understand that Simonides composed it as well. The other two epigrams quoted in the same place, including the most famous of all Greek couplets, with the dead addressing the passerby and telling him to bring the news of their death back to the Spartans whose behests they followed, command much less agreement. They are frequently cited as Simonidean but there are scholars who vigorously contest the attribution.[25] After Herodotus there is no ancient author before Aristotle who ascribes an epigram to Simonides. This compounds the problem, because poetic couplets do not contain the name or *sphragis* of the author: this means that

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[23] E. Bowie, "Early Greek Elegy, Symposium, and Public Festival," *JHS* 106 (1986) 13-35.

[24] D. Boedeker, "Simonides on Plataea: Narrative Elegy, Mythodic History," *ZPE* 107 (1995) 217-229.

[25] E.g., Page, *FGE* p. 232.

many undoubtedly genuine works that were inscribed became anonymous to later generations while conversely many were attributed to Simonides by people who had little solid reason for the attribution. It is reasonably certain that when Meleager put together his *Garland,* a precursor of the *Greek Anthology,* c. 100 B.C he drew on an earlier collection of epigrams ascribed to Simonides, probably made in the late fourth century B.C. The epigrams that found their way into the *Anthology* are generally known as the "Simonidea" and they form a large group of both epigrams meant for inscription (and in some cases known to have been inscribed) and purely literary elegies. A few of them are very likely to be authentic, while some are patently late literary exercises. But we have absolutely no certain way of separating true from false. Some ninety "Simonidean" epigrams, ranging in length from two to twelve lines, are divided by Page into several categories: (1) on events before the Persian Wars and ascribed to Simonides; (2) on events before the Persian Wars and anonymous but possibly Simonidean; (3) & (4), like (1) and (2) but on events of the Persian Wars; (5) on events and people contemporary with Simonides and ascribed to him; (6) on events and people contemporary with Simonides and anonymous but possibly Simonidean; (7) miscellaneous ascriptions; (8) anachronistic ascriptions; (9) spurious and clearly falsely attributed.[26] The likelihood that surviving epigrams for rival states or families are by Simonides suggests his stature throughout Greece. He was employed by patrons of all sorts and his poetry is not proof of his politics or personal loyalties.

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[26] See D. L. Page (ed.), *Epigrammata Graeca* (Oxford 1975) vii-viii.

PINDAR

Pindar's poetic career seems, from what we know, to have been entirely in the fifth century.[1] The ancient *Vita* of Pindar in the Ambrosian manuscript quotes the first-person utterance of someone who maintains that he was born in the year of a Pythian festival (fr. 193), and this has usually been taken as spoken in the poet's voice. The favoured years are 522 and 518, with the later date preferred since it corresponds to the notice in the *Suda* that Pindar was born in the 65th Olympiad. If 518 is correct he may be an exact contemporary of Bacchylides; he is a slightly younger contemporary of Aeschylus, who was born in 525. His birthplace was Cynoscephalae near Thebes; his father's name is variously given as Daiphantus, Pagondas, or Scopelinus, his mother's as Cleodice. *Pyth.* 5.75-76, discussed below, speaks of the clan of the Aegeidae as ἐμοὶ πατέρες. If this first-person utterance applies to the poet and not just to the chorus of the poem, Pindar was a member of an aristocratic family prominent in Thebes and in Sparta. P. Oxy. 2438 records a dithyrambic victory of Pindar in Athens in 497/6 or 496/5. The first definitely datable epinician ode is *Pyth.* 10 from 498. The name of Pindar's wife is given in the Ambrosian *Vita* as Megacleia, that of his son as Daiphantus, and those of his daughters as Protomache and Eumetis. Fr. 94c is apparently a *daphnephorikon* (a type of partheneion) written in honour of his son, with his daughters in the maiden-chorus. Many of the epinician odes are definitely datable, with *Pyth.* 8, the last, from 446. If Pindar died at age 80, as some ancient sources state, the probable year was 438. There are many anecdotes told about his life, most of them in the ancient lives.[2] The recent tendency has been to view these anecdotes with considerable scepticism.

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[1] The standard text of the epinician odes is by B. Snell and H. Maehler, *Pindarus*^{8} vol. 1 (Leipzig 1987), and that of the fragments by H. Maehler, *Pindarus* vol.2 (Leipzig 1989); also important for its full account of the MSS tradition is the edition by A. Turyn, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*^{2} (Oxford 1952). For further bibliography, see D. E. Gerber, *A Bibliography of Pindar 1513-1966* (Case Western Reserve 1969), and *Lustrum* 31 (1989) 97-269 and 32 (1990) 7-292. My thanks are due to Maggie Rogow for helpful advice and criticism.

[2] These may be found in M. R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (Baltimore 1981) 57-66.

Poetry

According to the Ambrosian *Vita* Pindar's works were collected in seventeen books in the Library at Alexandria. These comprised eight types of poetry: hymns (1); paeans (1); dithyrambs (2); prosodia (2); partheneia (3); hyporchemata (2); encomia (1); threnoi (1); epinician odes (4). Only the last survived as a book-text. Some idea of the other works may be gleaned from fragments, either in citation in prose authors or from papyrus fragments. The most substantial fragments are from *Paeans* 2, 4, and 6; these come from Volume 5 of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* published in 1908, which contained portions of *Paeans* 1-10.[3] The epinician odes were arranged according to venue, for victors at Olympia, Delphi (*Pythians*), the Isthmus, and Nemea, in order of prestige and antiquity of the games. The last three odes at the end of the collection of *Nemeans* are not for victors at Nemea, and the final poem is in fact for an athlete entering upon a magistracy. These anomalous poems were appended to the *Nemeans* for the sake of convenience at a time when the *Nemeans* were the final book of the collection; the order of the last two book became reversed in the manuscripts with the result that the *Nemeans* now precede the *Isthmians,* a book that is mutilated at the end and thus incomplete. There are 45 complete poems, plus one fragmentary final *Isthmian.*[4] Because we have a book-text we have—what we do not possess in the case of the other lyric poets—substantial scholia, going back in large measure to Didymus in the first century B.C. but doubtless preserving many comments of the first Alexandrian commentators. These are indispensable for our understanding of the poet since the ancient commentators, even if they were living a few centuries subsequent to Pindar, possessed a feeling for the Greek language which we cannot hope to equal and many works now lost to us on which to base their judgements.[5] The existence of victor-lists often enabled

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[3] There are altogether fragments of 22 paeans.

[4] There has been some doubt whether *Isth.* 3 and 4 should be classed as a single poem or as two.

[5] The scholia have been edited in three volumes by A. B. Drachmann, *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina* (Leipzig 1903, 1910, and 1927). There is a marked recent tendency to view the scholiasts with caution since it is felt that in many cases their interpretations are based on mere guess-work. In particular, the scholiasts are more eager than are most contemporary scholars to find biographical elements in the poems.

the scholiasts to date the poems accurately. Partial lists have reached us, either on papyrus, in inscriptions, or as compilations.

Within the individual books the odes are grouped according to the importance attached to the athletic events, with equestrian victories placed first, followed by victories in gymnastic contests (pancration, wrestling, boxing, pentathlon, and foot-races, in this order). The victory with the four-horse chariot carried the greatest prestige and was placed first, followed by the victories with the single courser and with the mule-chariot. Both the *Olympians* and the *Pythians* show anomalies, however. The First *Olympian*, for a victory with the single horse, precedes odes for chariot-victors; it was given pride of place because of its famous opening praising the Olympic games. And neither *Pythians* 2 nor 3 is clearly for a chariot-victory at Delphi: 2 does not name the venue and 3 seems to be neither for a victory nor for a chariot. But both poems are for Hieron of Syracuse and were placed with *Pyth.* 1, which is for a chariot victory of Hieron, because of the importance of the addressee. The book of *Pythians* has as its final poem an ode in honour of a victor with the pipe.

Pindar's language is the literary language found in Alcman, Ibycus, Stesichorus, and Bacchylides, with a stronger Doric flavour than is found in the Ionian Bacchylides, but fewer local peculiarities than in the Laconic of Alcman, though Pindar will on occasion use a Boeotian word.[6] There is an admixture of other dialects, in particular Aeolic, and epic forms are also present. The epinician odes fall roughly into two categories metrically. About half are in dactylo-epitrites, a metre found first in Stesichorus (page 233) and also used by Simonides and Bacchylides, with the other half in "Aeolic" metres, based on iambs and choriambs.[7] Only one ode (*Ol.* 13) combines both metres. The great majority of the odes are triadic, but seven (*Ol.* 14; *Pyth.* 6, 12; *Nem.* 2, 4, 9; *Isth.* 8) are monostrophic. Most of the triadic odes have three to five triads, approximately 100 lines; the Fourth *Pythian* with thirteen triads and 299 lines is a remarkable exception.

There is no external evidence for the performance of the epinician odes and the indications given in the poems themselves

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[6] E.g., αἱμακουρίαις at *Ol.* 1.90.

[7] For a straightforward explanation of the metre and of the colometry of the modern editions, see F. J. Nisetich, *Pindar's Victory Songs* (Baltimore and London 1980) 35-39.

lead critics to different conclusions. Most of the poems we have were undoubtedly sung in the presence of the victor at his home, but some shorter ones were probably performed at the place of victory. An impromptu song doubtless greeted the victor immediately upon his triumph, and we have seen (page 244) that this might incorporate a traditional refrain of Archilochus. In several instances we have pairs of odes from Pindar for the same victory (*Ol.* 2 & 3, 4 & 5, 10 & 11; *Pyth.* 4 & 5). The reasons for there being two poems seem not always to be the same: it may be that one celebration was private, the other public (*Ol.* 2 & 3?), that one was commissioned by the victor, the other unofficially (*Pyth.* 5 & 4), that the two were performed at different times in the festivity (*Ol.* 4 & 5), or that one was performed immediately at the place of victory and the other, longer poem later at the home of the victor (*Ol.* 11 & 10). In one instance, Hieron's victory with the chariot at Delphi in 470, we have a short and perfunctory poem of Bacchylides (4) that was clearly performed at Delphi, and a magnificent poem from Pindar, *Pyth.* 1, that was the officially commissioned ode. And wealthy patrons might commission two odes for the same victory, as Hieron did in 476 (Bacchylides 5 and Pindar *Ol.* 1).

It has regularly been assumed since antiquity that the epinician odes were all performed chorally. But this assumption no longer seems as certain as it once did and it has been challenged, most notably by Lefkowitz.[8] Triadic composition is itself no proof of choral performance as we have seen (page 234), and both the long poems of Stesichorus and the triadic poem of Ibycus to Polycrates are now widely held to be citharodic or for solo performance. At the heart of the problem is the use of the first-person pronoun in Pindar. Some scholars insist that it is primarily the voice of a chorus referring to itself (as it undoubtedly is in the non-epinician poetry of Pindar), some say that it is always the poet and does not presuppose a chorus, and some take the position that the reference

[8] M. Davies, "Monody, Choral Lyric, and the Tyranny of the Hand-book," *CQ* 38 (1988) 52-64; M. R. Lefkowitz, *First-Person Fictions: Pindar's Poetic "I"* (Oxford 1991). The debate has continued: see M. Heath and M. Lefkowitz, "Epinician Performance," *CP* 86 (1991) 173-191 (an exhaustive presentation and discussion of the evidence), followed by C. Carey, "The Victory Ode in Performance: The Case for the Chorus," *ibid.* 192-200; K. A. Morgan, "Pindar the Professional and the Rhetoric of the ΚΩΜΟΣ," *CP* 88 (1993) 1-15; G. B. D'Alessio, "First-Person Problems in Pindar," *BICS* 39 (1994) 117-139; M. R. Lefkowitz, "The First Person in Pindar Reconsidered—Again," *BICS* 40 (1995) 139-150.

may fluctuate, being sometimes the poet and sometimes a chorus. Even those who continue to believe that the odes were for the most part performed chorally are now willing to believe that this is not necessarily true of all of them. The most reasonable conclusion is that whatever the circumstances of performance—and they may have varied—the first-person utterance must always include the poet. Pindar may on occasion have travelled with his poems to the places where they were performed: the first-person indications of his presence (e.g. ἦλθον, κατέβην) are variously taken as indicating his actual presence or as a convention used figuratively of the presence of the poem (or of a chorus in performance).

Pindar's patrons are the rich and powerful of the entire Hellenic world, especially ruling princes who entered the equestrian events in the major games as a way of displaying their wealth and acquiring pan-Hellenic glory. The addressees of his epinician odes range from Sicily in the west to Rhodes in the east (*Ol.* 7), and from Thessaly in the north (*Pyth.* 10) to Cyrene in the south (*Pyth.* 4 & 5). Somewhat surprisingly, there are no odes for victors from Sparta. Less surprisingly, Athens does not figure largely, for it was aristocrats, not democrats, who were Pindar's patrons: and of the two short odes for victors from Attica (*Pyth.* 7, *Nem.* 2), the first is for an Alcmaeonid, Megacles. Pindar's own city of Thebes, enemy of Athens throughout the fifth century, is well represented (*Pyth.* 11; *Isth.* 1, 3, 4, 7). Despite the fact that Thebes had sided with the Persians when they invaded Greece and had actually fought against the Athenians at Plataea (it was later punished for its apostasy), Pindar's official position as a poet of all Greece has him proudly proclaim the repulse of the barbarians that threatened Hellas: in the First *Pythian* he salutes the Athenian rôle at Salamis, the Spartan rôle at Plataea, and the successes gained by the rulers of Syracuse against Etruscans and Carthaginians in the waters off Sicily and Italy (70-79); in *Isth.* 8, for a victor from Aegina, Pindar mentions the "rock of Tantalus" that has been averted from Greece by a god (10). Since Aeginetans had won special distinction in the battle of Salamis they could take this as praise of their island. Like Thebes, Aegina was throughout the period during which Pindar composed a rival and enemy of Athens. Though there is little or no sense in Pindar that his privileged aristocrats are a threatened species, it is true that he lived to see the overthrow of the ruling houses of Syracuse, Acragas, and Cyrene for which he composed

his greatest poems. His regular stance is that the glory of victory redounds not only to the credit of the individual who achieved it but that it is a boon for the entire polis and wider community (τό γ' ἐν ξυνῷ πεπoναμένον εὖ, *Pyth.* 9.93).[9] But it would be wrong to think that the victory-ode was primarily for a civic celebration as was Athenian tragedy. Even if the victor's polis is named and is understood to bask in the reflected glory of the victory of a native son, the ode was primarily commissioned by a wealthy individual whose achievements and generosity are the *raison d'être* of the song. It was once fashionable to think that Pindar was uncomfortable in his task of praising athletic victory and sought to alleviate the necessity of enumerating all of an individual's feats; but there is no reason to attribute this distaste, if it is felt by moderns, either to the Greek poet or to a Greek audience.[10] Greek literature is from the beginning filled with admonitions to excel;[11] the foundation of Greek humanism is the belief in the possibility of outstanding accomplishment in a brief and precarious human existence.[12] Pindar's gnomes remind us how fully he proclaims this creed: life without toil and risk is not worth living (θανεῖν δ' οἶσιν ἀνάγκα, τά κέ τις ἀνώνυμον/ γῆρας ἐν σκότῳ καθήμενος ἕψοι μάταν, /ἁπάντων καλῶν ἄμμορος; *Ol.* 1.82-84). Sport is a form of competition that provides an obvious theatre for display of merit. And Pindar's language is replete with expressions for excellence (ἄριστος, ἀρετά, κορυφαί, ἄωτος, ἄεθλον). The poet's task is to immortalise this excellence in poetry, the only sure form of continuing life after death. A secondary task is to proclaim it in the face of detractors, for no accomplishment that sets a man apart from his peers is unattended by the envy (φθόνος) of the small-minded.[13]

Among Pindar's poems there are two groups that stand out, those for Sicilian and those for Aeginetan patrons. Together they account for over half the odes. The fourteen Sicilian poems are

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[9] This matter is discussed by L. Kurke, *The Traffic in Praise: Pindar and the Poetics of Social Economy* (Ithaca and London 1991).

[10] See M. Heath, "The Origins of Modern Pindaric Criticism," *JHS* 106 (1986) 85-98, esp. 92-94.

[11] The best-known formulation is αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων (Homer, *Il.* 6.208).

[12] The most memorable statement of this idea is Glaucus' speech to Sarpedon at Homer, *Il.* 12.310-328.

[13] See G. M. Kirkwood, "Blame and Envy in the Pindaric Epinician," in *Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honour of Leonard Woodbury*, ed. D. E. Gerber (Chico, Calif. 1984) 169-184.

mostly to be found among the *Olympians* and *Pythians*[14] and bespeak the concern of the ruling families there to win in the events that conferred the greatest prestige at the most important sites and to commission the most important poet to celebrate their success. Nine of the eleven complete Aeginetan odes are among the *Nemeans* and *Isthmians*;[15] these odes are mostly for youthful victors in less spectacular events.

Of the Sicilian odes four (*Ol.* 1; *Pyth.* 1-3) are for Hieron of Syracuse, while two are for his relative-by-marriage and general Chromius (*Nem.* 1 & 9), and four are for the royal house of Acragas, also allied to Hieron by marriage.[16] Two of the poems for Hieron's victories can be dated: *Ol.* 1 is for 476 with the horse Pherenicus, and *Pyth.* 1 is for his chariot victory at Delphi in 470, though this victory pales into insignificance in a poem which celebrates far more the military victories of Hieron and his founding of the new city of Aetna on the slopes of the mountain to reward his veterans. The Third *Pythian*, among the poems which strain belief that the epinicians were performed chorally, appears to be a consolation to an ailing Hieron and to mention past but not present victories,[17] while *Pyth.* 2 is not definitely datable.[18] Pindar is generally taken to have visited the Sicilian courts in 476, the year of the first three *Olympian* odes. The Second *Olympian* is remarkable for the great eschatological passage it contains outlining a doctrine of judgement and reincarnation. This doctrine is so unlike the normal theology of the epinician poems, which do not deal with survival after death except inasmuch as it is conferred as poetic immortality, that it is quite reasonably thought to show

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[14] With the exception of *Nem.* 1 & 9; *Isth.* 2.

[15] The exceptions are *Ol.* 8, *Pyth.* 8. The fragmentary *Isth.* 9 is for an Aeginetan.

[16] Hieron was married to the daughter of Xenocrates (addressee of *Pyth.* 6 and *Isth.* 2); Theron, brother of Xenocrates and addressee of *Ol.* 2 & 3, was father of Demarete, wife of Gelon, brother of Hieron and founder of the Syracusan dynasty and from whom Hieron inherited the throne, and after Gelon's death wife of another of Hieron's brothers, Polyzelus, whose own daughter was married to Theron.

[17] On *Pyth.* 3 and the equestrian victories of Hieron, see E. Robbins, "The Gifts of the Gods: Pindar's Third *Pythian*," *CQ* 40 (1990) 307-318.

[18] The possibilities are discussed by G. W. Most, *The Measures of Praise: Structure and Function in Pindar's Second Pythian and Seventh Nemean Odes* (Hypomnemata 83: Göttingen 1985) 60-68, who plausibly dates it early, to 477 B.C. Some scholars have seen in this poem an offering for Hieron's victory with the chariot at Olympia in 468, when Bacchylides composed ode 3.

Sicilian religious influence, perhaps doctrine that was important to Theron of Acragas, the addressee.[19] We will see (page 282) that the dual verb of line 88 of this poem has been thought to refer in uncomplimentary fashion to Simonides and Bacchylides, and this possibility is not to be discounted, despite general reluctance to-day to find evidence for personal quarrels in the poetry of Pindar.

Whether or not the common enmity of Thebes and Aegina with Athens provided a bond between Pindar and his patrons on Aegina,[20] Pindar as a Theban boasts a personal link with the island: at *Isth.* 8.16-30 he explains that it is especially fitting that he give praise since Thebe and Aegina were sisters, both daughters of the river Asopus. Aegina provides an unparalleled source of heroic myth, for through her son by Zeus, Aeacus, Aegina was the source of the great heroes of saga, Peleus and Telamon and their sons Achilles and Ajax. Like Bacchylides (page 280) Pindar exploits the rich fund of Aeginetan myth in his Aeginetan poems.

Pindar's connection with the city of Cyrene also deserves mention. Three of the Pythian odes are Cyrenean. The Ninth *Pythian* from 474, for Telesicrates of Cyrene, is one of the most popular of Pindar's poems because of its central myth, which tells of Apollo's union with the Thessalian nymph Cyrene and of her translation to North Africa where she became the eponym of a Greek colony. The erotic theme of the myth is clearly linked to the treatment of the victory, for the victor is also seen as one who brings back a bride (=victory) from mainland Greece to adorn his city.[21] *Pythians* 4 and 5 are for King Arcesilaus, the eighth and last in the line of rulers descended from Battus, founder of the colony.[22] The Fourth *Pythian* is Pindar's most ambitious poem and was commissioned in 462, to honour the victory by the king in the chariot-race at Delphi, by a political refugee, Demophilus, who had spent his exile in Thebes and hoped by the magnificent offering to win his recall to his native city. The extended myth of the poem is the story of Jason and the Argonauts and is apposite because the king claimed

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19 H. Lloyd-Jones, "Pindar and the After-Life," in *Pindare* (Entretiens Hardt 31: Vandœuvres-Geneva 1984) 245-284.

20 It is remarkable that the Aeginetan boy-victors more than once have an Athenian trainer: Melesias in *Ol.* 8 and *Nem.* 4, 6; Menander, *Nem.* 5.

21 See A. Köhnken, "'Meilichos orga'. Liebesthematik und aktueller Sieg in der neunten pythischen Ode Pindars," in *Pindare* (above, note 19) 71-116.

22 Herodotus in Book 4.145-167 tells the story of the first six kings, named alternately Battus (the name of the founder) and Arcesilaus.

descent from one of the Argonauts, Euphemus, who had on the return voyage of the Argo received at the site of Cyrene a pledge that his descendants would colonise the area.[23] The accompanying Fifth *Pythian*, the King's own commission, does not contain mythical narrative, but shows a remarkably detailed knowledge of the topography of the city, one unparalleled in the other works of Pindar.

The Pindaric ode appears to be made up of a number of disparate elements that are hard for us to reconcile into a whole of which all the parts are clearly related. In a developed ode (i.e. one of the poems with the normal length of five triads) we can consistently count on finding five components.[24] There must be, first of all, the essential information about the victor: his name, the name of his father and, in many cases, of his clan, the name of his city and of the victory which he won. If the victor has won at other times and in other places there will be a catalogue of these victories. It is likely that other victories were won by other members of the family in previous generations, and since Pindar likes to emphasise inheritance (which he usually calls φυά) he will probably mention these victories too. This indispensable material constitutes the objective "programme" of the ode;[25] it relates specifically to the occasion and was doubtless expected by the patron, who provided the necessary information. Second, the poet speaks self-consciously of his own poetry and of his own song. Pindar is in fact the first Greek poet in whom we find repeated and ubiquitous reflection on the nature of his rôle as poet and on his art. He regularly talks of and to his Muse, he mentions principles of selection (καιρός) and the rules or constraint that govern his utterance, he mentions the poet's obligation to praise (χρέος) and tender what is the legitimate reward (ἄποινα) of the victor, and he comments on the relationship of inborn ability to acquired skill in poetry, generally privileging the native ability of the σοφός.[26] Third, there are γνῶμαι or

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[23] On possible further relevance of the myth, see E. Robbins, "Jason and Cheiron: The Myth of Pindar's Fourth Pythian," *Phoenix* 29 (1975) 205-213.

[24] See Fränkel, *EGPP* 440 (German edition, 500).

[25] The term "Programm" is that of W. Schadewaldt, *Der Aufbau des pindarischen Epinikion* (Halle 1928).

[26] The poet is thus in many respects like the victor in that he requires inborn talent that is developed by training. The idea is memorably expressed in the contrast between the σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾷ and the μαθόντες at *Ol.* 2.86. There are good remarks on this in T. K. Hubbard, *The Pindaric Mind: A Study of Logical Structure in Early Greek Poetry* (*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 85: Leiden 1985)

aphorisms that encapsulate the traditional wisdom that the σοφός teaches. These often form bridge-passages that articulate the sections of an ode. There is a long tradition of such didactic utterance in Greek poetry, and there were entire collections of ὑποθῆκαι or sayings; one of these collections was attributed to the sage and mentor Cheiron, an important presence in Pindar's poetry.[27] The moralising gnomes, by offering ethical reflection on the events commemorated in the poem, lift the occasional to the level of the universal. Fourth, there are ubiquitous hymnal elements (Pindar calls his own epinician odes ὕμνοι), prayers and addresses to gods, and other theological reflection. No poet is more insistent that all achievement and all glory, in fact all elements of human life both good and bad, are the disposition of divinity. In addition to the major Olympians, many lesser divinities, some little more than divinised abstractions, are present in the odes: examples are Τύχη (*Ol.* 12), the Χάριτες (*Ol.* 14), Ἡσυχία (*Pyth.* 8), and Ὥρα (*Nem.* 8). And finally, most odes of any length have a mythical narrative. Like the gnomes, the myths place the actual in a wider context and provide material that somehow illuminates the occasion. The myths very frequently draw on material that is particular to the family or city of the addressee. This part of the Pindaric ode is the one that makes the most immediate appeal to a modern reader, for he tells the stories with incomparable brilliance. Compression is the key-note: the narrative emphasises carefully chosen scenes from a larger whole that was likely to be well known to the audience. Pindar is concerned, however, to emphasise that he is giving a true account of past events. He may criticise his predecessors for their versions and substitute a different story. On occasion he appears to be choosing the preferred version from among many that were current; on occasion he appears to be making up a new version in good faith as more in keeping with his canons of appropriate behaviour—the Muse who inspires him is in every case the guarantor of the truth of his account.[28]

107-124.

[27] He occurs in *Pyth.* 3, 4, 6, 9; *Nem.* 3; *Isth.* 8, usually in the rôle of mentor and guide to the heroes of myth (Achilles, Jason, Asclepius), who are themselves paradigms.

[28] The most famous instance of Pindar correcting his predecessors is his account of Pelops' ivory shoulder in *Ol.* 1. In some instances we have an existing literary version of the account that Pindar sets straight, e.g., *Ol.* 7.20-34 and Homer, *Il.* 2.653-670.

Criticism

Pindar's epinician poems possess these various elements in such apparently random order and with such abrupt and difficult transitions that it is not surprising that criticism in the modern period has been obsessed with a search for what gives individual poems their unity. In an important and often-cited article Young traced nineteenth-century solutions to the unity-problem to what he considered their *fons et origo malorum* in the editions of Boeckh (1811-1821) and Dissen (1830). Working in conjunction they developed the notion that each poem could be reduced to a *summa sententia* or *Grundgedanke*, a short thematic statement informing in each case the various parts of the poem.[29] This approach necessarily privileged the gnomic utterances, for by their very nature they provided just the short encapsulating maxims that might serve such a purpose. Recently it has been shown that this approach is not so new as Young posited and that earlier critics from the Renaissance onwards had offered similar solutions to the problem of unity. Young's own solution, which provides a "*Grund* on which the *Gedanken* of the poem are built," is found to be in effect not very different from the views he criticises.[30] Other critics have found the *vinculum* that binds the parts elsewhere, frequently in the idea of a repeated word or image. Boeckh also posited the influential idea of historical allegory in the poems of Pindar, i.e., that much in the poems referred to events in the victor's own life or to politics of the time. Myths were particularly susceptible to being read for covert historical references. It is undeniable that the nineteenth century had a penchant for biography that is unpalatable to contemporary Pindaric criticism: this trend culminates in Wilamowitz's great book on Pindar, which is biographical throughout.[31]

The reaction against historicist criticism found its apogee in the influential work of Bundy.[32] This was in effect an extension of

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[29] D. Young, "Pindaric Criticism," in *Pindaros und Bakchylides*, edd. W. M Calder and J. Stern (*Wege der Forschung* 134: Darmstadt 1970) 1-95, repr. with revisions from *Minnesota Review* 4 (1964) 584-641.

[30] Heath (above, note 10) 97-98.

[31] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922). The conjectural dates given in the Teubner text for poems that are not securely datable by external evidence are Wilamowitz's dates.

[32] E. Bundy, *Studia Pindarica* I and II (*University of California Publications in*

Schadewaldt's earlier insistence on the programme and concentrated exclusively on the rhetoric of praise. For Bundy Pindaric odes served "the single purpose of eulogizing men and communities" and did not indulge in recondite allusiveness that contained "personal, religious, political, philosophical and historical references that might interest the poet but do nothing to enhance the glory of a given patron" (Bundy 35). The great advance of this approach was that it made poems and passages that had previously been mysterious and inaccessible much more comprehensible, for they could be seen upon analysis to be variations of a limited number of commonplaces.[33] The poems were virtuosic displays of the poet's skill in manipulating *topoi*, which were "foil" for the climax or "cap" of direct victor-praise. The disadvantage of the approach was that the poet became much less interesting: his thought was jejune or non-existent and his technique the only thing worth studying. In this sense Bundy continued an established tradition of devaluing Pindar as a thinker.[34] And Bundy's work led to a downplaying of the political and historical setting of the odes, though this may also have been caused in part by hostility to historical allegory.[35] Reaction has come from a number of quarters, in particular from those who have taken Pindar's intelligence seriously.[36] The very idea of "unity" has been challenged as a post-Pindaric notion inappropriate to the study of a Pindaric ode, for it involves, no matter where it is found, a reductionist and centripetal tendency that does scant justice to the manifold diversity of the poetry. Now we have come full circle and a critic can say again, "Pindar in fact could use his odes as springboards for advancing personal interests which were only indirectly connected with the objective epinician program"[37] or "digression was no crime until

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Classical Philology: Berkeley 1962; repr. 1986).

33 See H. Lloyd-Jones, "Modern Interpretations of Pindar: The Second Pythian and Seventh Nemean Odes," *JHS* 93 (1973) 109-137.

34 G. Norwood's famous phrase (*Pindar* [Berkeley and Los Angeles 1945] 184) that Pindar could "think like a child and sing like an archangel" is an example.

35 E.g., C. Carey, *A Commentary on Five Odes of Pindar* (Salem, NH 1981) 4: "Recent research into the conventions of Pindaric poetry has rendered speculation on the historical ambience of individual odes largely unnecessary...."

36 Hubbard (above, note 26).

37 T. K. Hubbard, "Remaking Myth and Rewriting History: Cult Tradition in Pindar's *Ninth Nemean*," *HSCP* 94 (1992) 78.

Pindar's licence to digress was revoked and that (...) was a relatively recent development."[38]

A detailed analysis of one of Pindar's odes will serve to add substance to the points made above. The rubrics are intended to point to issues raised in the foregoing discussion.

The Eighth Pythian

The poem is dated by the scholiast to 446 B.C. and this date is generally accepted. It is the the last datable poem of Pindar.

1. *The Political Background*

Since this is of the first importance for understanding the poem it must be sketched.[39]

After the Athenian victory over the Boeotians at Oenophyta in 457, Aegina was forced to become a member of the Delian League and to pay tribute. The tribute imposed was higher than that of any of the other allies. In 447, however, an Athenian force was defeated in Boeotia at Coronea (Thuc. 1.113) and Boeotia was evacuated. The following year, the year of our poem, Athens had to contend with revolts in Euboea and Megara, and a Peloponnesian force under the Spartan king Pleistoanax advanced into Attica as far as Eleusis but mysteriously withdrew (Thuc. 1.114). Negotiations began which led to the Thirty Years Peace, concluded between Athens and Sparta, probably early in 445.

It is likely, but not certain, that the Pythian victory of Aristomenes, won in August/September of 446, was celebrated after the invasion and withdrawal but before the negotiated peace. For some recent critics the events of 446 are unimportant for the poem: one flatly states that by the time of the athletic victory "it had become clear that the Spartans would do nothing for the Aeginetans."[40] This has the advantage of hindsight—it is true that the Thirty

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[38] Heath (above, note 10) 98.

[39] Some commentators, nonetheless, discuss the poem without any consideration of the political events of the period: cf. D. S. Carne-Ross, *Pindar* (New Haven and London 1985) 169-184 (a good example of treatment of a poem in terms of dominant or recurring images).

[40] T. J. Figueira, *Athens and Aegina in the Age of Imperial Colonization* (Baltimore and London 1991) 90.

Years Peace did not relieve the position of Aegina, but unlikely that the conditions of it were published in 446,[41] when Aeginetans might still have entertained hope because of the recent Athenian reversals and willingness to negotiate. Another recent treatment ignores events of 446 too, but in a diametrically opposed way.[42] It advances the unusual view that the Athenian Empire crumbled at Coronea and that Aeginetan aristocrats could regard their city as free again since 447. The references to Typhos and Porphyrion at the beginning of the poem are to a vanquished monster and the words ἐλευθέρῳ στόλῳ (98) are to a voyage of freedom already under way. We have a clear instance of historical allegory in the poem, with the defeated monsters symbols of a defeated Athens. The poem becomes triumphalist and so loses the wistfulness regularly found in it.

Apart from the fact that this reading ignores the central myth as a possible source of understanding for the overall tone of the poem, it attaches mistaken emphasis to the tense (or aspect) of the imperative κόμιζε in the final prayer. It is maintained that "the polis is already 'on a voyage of freedom' at the moment the ode is being sung" since it has already liberated itself from the yoke of foreign domination. But Aegina was *not* free in 446. To call her free is wishful thinking (the province of prayer). In a prayer the thing prayed for does not usually exist yet—it is called into being by the invocation if the patronage solicited is granted. The prayer to Hesychia with which the poem opens contains the present imperative δέκευ (5), for instance. This means not that Hesychia has already received Aristomenes but that the reception is coincident with the invocation to a beneficent power that will not refuse it.[43] Aegina's course of freedom will come into being with

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[41] N. O. Brown, "Pindar, Sophocles, and the Thirty Years Peace," *TAPA* 82 (1951) 1-6, sets out the details of the question well.

[42] I. L. Pfeijffer, "Pindar's Eighth Pythian: The Relevance of the Historical Setting," *Hermes* 123 (1995) 156-165. Pfeijffer's interpretation is anticipated by Boeckh, who thought that the reference to freedom required a date before 457 for the poem, despite the scholiast (A. Boeckh, *Pindari opera quae supersunt* II.2 [Leipzig 1821] 308). See also L. R. Farnell, *The Works of Pindar* II (London 1932) 192.

[43] There is a parallel at the end of the Sixth *Olympian*. Poseidon is asked to grant a voyage καμάτων/ἐκτὸς ἐόντα to Syracuse and to swell the power of the poet's song (δίδοι, 104, and ἄεξε, 105). The trouble-free voyage will be the result of the prayer if it is granted. It makes a difference whether a present imperative is directed to a god in a prayer or to a mortal in an injunction: the imperatives addressed to Hieron at the end of the First *Pythian* (85 ff.)

the special protection of the goddess addressed. Prayer is prolepsis, not performative utterance.[44]

For another scholar, on the other hand, the events of 446 are important, but since it is impossible to decide whether the poem was written before or after the invasion of Attica two rival readings must be entertained. If the composition is *before* the invasion of Attica the addressee is being warned, through the invocation of Hesychia, not to be rash but to think twice before running off to ally himself with the invading forces; if the composition is *after* the invasion, the invocation of Hesychia is an apology for inactivity, directed at those who felt that intervention might have produced more conclusive results.[45] Apart from the unsatisfactory nature of an explanation that is meant to work in two different circumstances (only one of which can have obtained), the reading fails to satisfy because it views Hesychia as pacifism with regard to an external foe. The reference of ἡσυχία is, as we would expect, to the internal politics of Aegina.[46]

It makes pre-eminent sense to believe that in the year 446 there were on Aegina opposing groups, aristocrats of long-standing hostility to Athenians on the one hand and powerful families sympathetic to Athens on the other.[47] Pindar appeals for civic concord at a time of high tension: the strain so near the surface will have existed even before the battle of Coronea and would continue even after the Peace. These difficulties have a special interest for the Eighth *Pythian* since it is the only poem of Pindar's for an Aeginetan victor that can be securely dated to the period after the subjugation of the city in 457. The city is asked to avoid fratricidal strife and to join in unison in celebrating the victory of one of its native sons.[48] Pindar's sympathies will naturally have been with the aristocrats, his patrons: he had in all likelihood

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pretend that the qualities he is encouraged to manifest already exist. They may in actual fact *not* exist but the poet tactfully suggests that they do.

[44] The present and aorist imperatives are equivalent in such phrases: see P. Hummel, *La syntaxe de Pindare* (Paris 1993) § 326.

[45] T. Cole, *Pindar's Feasts or the Music of Power* (Rome 1992) 101-111.

[46] Pfeijffer (above, note 42).

[47] For the likely existence of an Athenian ἀποικία on the island see Figueira (above, note 40) *passim*.

[48] This is a more attractive explanation than to posit that Pindar is by an invocation of Ἡσυχία merely trying to defuse the φθόνος that regularly attends the victor at the time of his reintegration into the polis (Kurke [above, note 9] 210 n. 30).

composed earlier for the Meidylidae, the clan of Aristomenes (cf. fr. 190). He allows the possibility (59-60) that he had on his voyage to Delphi had a prediction of Aristomenes' victory, and this would suggest that he knew beforehand that Aristomenes was competing. Perhaps he had already been approached to write an ode if Aristomenes should win. Aeginetan aristocrats had some reason for hope since Coronea; but to proclaim or even imply that Athens had been defeated was premature in 446 (and was belied by the terms of the Peace when they were actually promulgated). The ray of hope, and it was no more, could still be extinguished by civil strife, and the aristocratic faction would hear a covert reminder that peace at home was the prelude to and precondition of eventual discomfiture of an external enemy, represented by the monsters of the opening triad. Athens could not be openly mentioned, for Athens was as yet far from defeated. "In contrast to the Pythian victory, this victory (i.e. the reacquisition of freedom) had not yet been won."[49]

2. *Voice*

The Eighth *Pythian* provides two passages (55-60 and 98-100) that are central to the whole discussion of first-person reference.

In the first of the two passages cited the speaker maintains that he had a prophecy on the road to Delphi. One scholiast took the passage starting at 55 (τοιαῦτα μὲν) to be spoken by a chorus *in persona victoris.*[50] The "I" is thus Aristomenes, who would have received from Alcmeon a prophecy of victory as he set out from Aegina to compete in the games. This solution has found few adherents, though it was attractive to Bundy, who was eager to eliminate anything personal on the part of the poet from his poetry.[51]

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[49] T. Krischer, "Pindars achte Pythische Ode in ihrem Verhältnis zur ersten," *WS* 19 (1985) 123. Krischer's demonstration of the ways in which the Eighth *Pythian* consciously recalls the First is very persuasive evidence that there is a political background to the Eighth. No one will deny that in the First the actual victory at Delphi pales beside the political events celebrated, Hieron's founding of Aetna and his defeat of Carthaginians and Etruscans. In an environment where Pindar is not free to speak as openly as he was in 476, he can do so most effectively by allusion to his own poetry.

[50] Σ78a, 82, 83, Drachmann II.214. It is not clear where this scholiast thinks the chorus abandons the voice of the victor and returns to its own persona.

[51] Bundy (above, note 32) II.69-70. So too E. D. Floyd, "The Performance of

It may be that the scholiast, in making this unusual claim for the reference of the pronoun, is privy to information lacking to us, but in the absence of any external information and of certain parallels,[52] and without an indicator in the poem that there is an assumed voice, we would do best to abandon this proposal.

A variation of this idea is that the words are spoken by members of a group, perhaps a theoric group, from Aegina to Delphi.[53] There is the problem of who actually received the prophecy if the singular conceals a group: there must be a bit of fudging, for the impression is of a spontaneous prophecy, perhaps even a vision, and this is hardly likely to have happened to a group.[54] So in this case too the experience is really the victor's and a chorus, which overlaps to some degree with the theoric group that accompanied Aristomenes, is in effect speaking *in persona victoris*. The fundamental question at issue here is whether the "I" excludes the poet.

There is no incontrovertible instance of a choral "I" that must exclude the poet. The instance that is often supposed probative, *Nem.* 7.85,[55] is an unresolvable crux.[56] Two others are disputed: *Pyth.* 5. 76 and line 98 of this same Eighth *Pythian*. In the former case, mentioned above, it is maintained that ἐμοὶ πατέρες cannot refer to Pindar, since even if there were *Theban* Aegeidae, as we know there were (*Isth.* 7.15), we do not know that Pindar's own ancestors came to Cyrene. But to refuse to grant the poet licence to capitalise on a link between himself and the city of the addressee by naming as a link the Aegeids, who were certainly emigrants via Sparta and Thera from Pindar's own πάτρα, is impossibly restrictive.[57] And, in any case, those who believe that a chorus excludes

Pindar, *Pythian* 8.55-70," *GRBS* 6 (1965) 187-200.

[52] The scholiast on *Pyth.* 9. 91 (= Σ161, Drachmann II.236) takes the passage in question there as spoken by the victor: see also P. Giannini in B. Gentili *et al.*, *Pindaro: Le Pitiche* (Milan 1995) 612.

Another sort of first-person utterance is indefinite and general and equally applicable to victor and poet: the scholiast at *Isth.* 7.55b takes the passage as spoken by the victor. Being of universal validity it certainly includes the victor but is not limited to him.

[53] W. J. Slater, "Pindar's Myths: Two Pragmatic Explanations," in *Arktouros: Hellenic Studies Presented to Bernard M. W. Knox*, edd. G. W. Bowersock, W. Burkert, M. C. J. Putnam (Berlin 1979) 68-70.

[54] As observed by Giannini (above, note 52) 576, *ad* 56-60.

[55] Carey (above, note 35) 16.

[56] D'Alessio (above, note 8) 133-135. D'Alessio disposes of the supposed problem of *Pyth.* 3.78 and of those who think that the utterance there excludes the poet.

[57] Pindar likes to forge a link between himself and the addressee: cf. *Ol.*

the poet in *Pyth.* 5 face an exaggeration at least as problematic, for Pindar would then use poetic licence in allowing a Cyrenean chorus that will hardly have consisted entirely of Aegeidae to act as though they were all descendants of this clan (for the entire chorus will say ἐμοὶ πατέρες). On balance, then, it is best to assume that Pindar introduces the mention of the Aegeid clan because it is Theban and he wants to establish a link between himself and the city of the addressee; he may in addition have been an Aegeid. Equally, it would be amusingly literal-minded to insist that the speaker who calls Aegina "mother" at the end of the Eighth *Pythian* cannot be Pindar, since Aegina is technically his aunt,[58] but mother only to native Aeginetans. Here too Pindar pushes the link beyond the literal.

And so it is most likely that the person speaking is the one who at 29 ff. maintains that he cannot dilate on the glories of Aegina. It is the poet who received the prophecy on the road to Delphi. If so we have an astonishing intrusion of the personal voice into a public poem, for the poet is allegedly presenting a biographical detail. Why does he do it?

There are two questions to answer here: who gave the prophecy and what was its content? The second must be guessed at, for Pindar, significantly, is silent about what was revealed to him. It may be that he was told the name of the victor. This would almost force us to believe that he had been commissioned in advance to write a poem for Aristomenes if he should win. This is possible, for, as suggested above, Pindar probably knew the family, and, knowing as little as we do about how he received his commissions we cannot exclude the possibility that he was approached before the crown games by aristocrats who intended to retain him in the event of a victory.[59] Viewed in purely mercenary terms, this would lend some substance to Pindar's puzzling statement that the γείτων who delivered the prophecy was a guardian of his material benefit (κτεάνων φύλαξ ἐμῶν, 58), for he was offering the virtual

6. 82 ff., which establishes a link between Thebes and Stymphalos (here too it is the relationship of the cities, not a blood relationship, that is paramount).

[58] The nymph Metope (*Ol.* 6.85) is mother by Asopus of both Thebe and Aegina.

[59] See Robbins (above, note 17) 312-313 for the suggestion that Pindar was commissioned in advance by Hieron for a victory that he did not, as it turned out, win.

assurance of a commission.[60] It might even be the case that Pindar had prayed for the success of Aristomenes and the prophecy was the result of petition or inquiry rather than a spontaneous apparition. We have no way of knowing.[61]

But Pindar's lack of explicitness does suggest that he is implying something, or at least allowing his Aeginetan audience to fill the silence. It lends an attractiveness to the idea that the prophecy was something that he can only hint at and that this was that the days of Athenian hegemony were numbered.[62]

To the question "who gave the prophecy?" there must be a definite answer, though there is not universal agreement. Since the time of the scholiast there has been a division of opinion. The scholium mentioned above as saying that the prophecy was given to Aristomenes (whose voice is assumed by the chorus) says that Alcmeon was the prophet and so contradicts another notice that says that it was Amphiaraus (this notice, incidentally, does not name Aristomenes as the recipient, suggesting that this scholiast may well have made the more traditional assumption that the recipient was Pindar).[63] The vast majority of critics until recently have assumed that the subject of ὑπάντασεν and ἐφάψατο (59, 60) is Alcmeon, because he is mentioned in the principal clause of the same sentence. Hubbard has argued powerfully for the understanding of the scholiast who believes that Amphiaraus gave the prophecy,[64] and he has found followers.[65] The strength of the argument is that he has shown that syntactically the sentence does not require Alcmeon to be understood as subject of the subordinate clause just because he has been named in the main clause, and that there is strong evidence for an oracle of Amphiaraus at Thebes whereas there is none for a cult of Alcmeon. The passage is

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60 On Pindar's advertisement of the fact that his is a well-paid Muse, see L. Woodbury, "Pindar and the Mercenary Muse," *TAPA* 99 (1968) 527-542 = *Collected Writings* (Atlanta 1991) 188-200.

61 Krischer's statement (above, note 49) 123 that Pindar would in this case have received in a dream the name of the future victor and that this is unparalleled is a bit extreme, for it seems to imply that Pindar would thus have received out of the blue an unknown name. He may in fact have been receiving a confirmation; if this is so the practice is less extraordinary.

62 Krischer, *loc. cit.*; T. K. Hubbard, "The Theban Amphiaraion and Pindar's Vision on the Road to Delphi," *MH* 50 (1993) 203, says the same thing: "it may have foretold a general reversal in Aegina's political fortune."

63 Amphiaraus, Σ78b; Alcmeon, Σ78a.

64 T. Hubbard, *art. cit.* (above, note 62).

65 E.g., D'Alessio (above, note 8) 135, n. 60.

viewed as the patriotic outburst of a Pindar who is eager to advertise the importance of a Theban shrine. Considerations of "unity" are irrelevant; Pindar is simply using the poem as a springboard for an interest that is not connected with the programme.

That Pindar has something to say in this poem that is more than the praise of Aristomenes seems clear, but this wider concern is consistent with the whole, and it regards Aegina rather than Thebes. It is not crucial to this argument to establish who gave the prophecy, but despite Hubbard's powerful argument Alcmeon still makes better sense, and this gives the poem greater unity.

It should be noted that whether the prophecy was given by Amphiaraus or Alcmeon it is exceptional. Amphiaraus' oracle was forbidden to native Thebans (Her. 8.134); hence Pindar's encounter with the hero would be most unusual and could not have been regular divination. There is no tradition of any oracle of Alcmeon, at Thebes, Aegina, or Argos,[66] and so a prophecy of Alcmeon is exceptional too.[67] Either way we are faced with something unusual that Pindar is reporting. But Alcmeon is the subject of a myth that begins with the words φυᾷ τὸ γενναῖον ἐπιπρέπει/ἐκ πατέρων παισὶ λῆμα (44-45), and the oracle is reported to have been delivered by someone who prophesied συγγόνοισι τέχναις (60, in emphatic position at end of sentence and triad).[68] Now, Amphiaraus was a hereditary prophet, but there is little point in emphasising this here, whereas there is an important point underlined if Alcmeon, who is seen as reproducing his father's excellence as a fighter, is also seen to be showing his father's prophetic skill: Amphiaraus was proverbially known for two things—he was ἀμφότερον μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ μάρνασθαι (*Ol.* 6.17).[69] The applicability of the

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66 Wilamowitz (above, note 31) 441 thought that Pindar might have been living at Argos, where he is reputed to have died, when he composed this, his last poem. A shrine of Alcmeon would at least make sense there, for he was an Argive hero.

67 At *Anth. Pal.* 2.393 ff. Christodorus describes a statue of Alcmeon the seer in the baths of Zeuxippus in Constantinople. This evidence is very late (6th century A.D.), but it does show that Christodorus knew of a tradition that gave the son of Amphiaraus prophetic powers. Christodorus thinks that the statue in question is of the poet Alcman; but he talks nonetheless of the "famous seer" (μάντις...ὁ βοώμενος). Or is Christodorus' statement based simply on his understanding of this passage in Pindar?

68 Cf. *Pyth.* 10.12: τὸ δὲ συγγενὲς ἐμβέβακεν ἴχνεσιν πατρός.

69 It has often been noted that if μάχεσθαι is substituted for μάρνασθαι this is a hexameter line. Pindar is thought to be quoting from an epic source here, probably the lost *Thebais.* See G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos*

myth to the occasion is precisely the emphasis on inherited excellence: Aristomenes is displaying the φυά of his family, seen previously in his maternal uncles Theognetus and Cleitomachus, and so honouring his πάτρα (36-38). The point is considerably weakened if Amphiaraus is the speaker, but the words themselves explain and justify the otherwise unparalleled prophetic powers of Alcmeon.

Further, the sentence that begins at line 56, χαίρων δὲ καὶ αὐτός... makes little sense if Amphiaraus is the subject of the subordinate clause. Why should Pindar "rejoice too and praise Alcmeon" because *Amphiaraus* delivered a prophecy? He has good reason to rejoice and praise Alcmeon too (i.e., in addition to Alcmeon's father's praise in the first prophecy, 44-55) if Alcmeon did something for him, i.e., made a special revelation. χαίρων probably points to reciprocal χάρις, the poet's praise for the favour received.[70] Hubbard maintains that if we recognise Amphiaraus as the one who delivered the prophecy to Pindar we have an exact symmetry, with two *laudatores*, Pindar and Amphiaraus (in the myth), and two *laudandi*, Aristomenes and Alcmeon (in the myth), a balance which is destroyed on the traditional interpretation. But the symmetry is in any case imperfect, for Pindar *does* praise Alcmeon, the *laudandus* of the myth, giving the prophecy as reason for this praise.

3. *The Myth*

This is the only poem for an Aeginetan victor in which Pindar draws on a myth that is not that of the Aeacids. This, in itself remarkable, becomes even more surprising when we consider that the myth told is in fact that of the destruction of Pindar's own native city of Thebes (at a time when Boeotia had recently been liberated!) It is an unusually dark choice, for normally it is Thebe that Pindar addresses as his mother (*Isth.* 1.1); the eclipse of Thebes in the poem seems to prompt him to address Aegina as mother. In fact all the victories celebrated in this poem have a dark underside that is either explicitly or implicitly present. It has been thought that the choice of the story of two attacks on Thebes, the first unsuccessful and the second successful, may hint at the fact that

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to Panyassis (London 1969) 45.

[70] On this point, see Most (above, note 18), 101 with n. 32.

Xenarces, the father of Aristomenes, was unsuccessful in the games.[71] This seems unlikely, for the fact that no victory of the father is mentioned makes this ode not unlike others in which there is no mention of the father's success. We can assume that he never scored an athletic triumph, but we need not believe that he ever competed unsuccessfully. It would be a rather tactless choice of mythical material on Pindar's part if this were the case.[72] In a memorable passage Pindar imagines Aristomenes' defeated enemies and their lack of joyous return to their mothers.[73] It is impossible not to remember here that Alcmeon too had a return not without shadow, for he either returned to murder his own mother Eriphyle or, if he murdered her before his departure with the Epigoni, had no mother to return to.[74] Most remarkable of all, perhaps, is that the prophecy of Amphiaraus, who witnesses the victory of the second army sent against Thebes, details the cost of the victory: Adrastus, more successful on the second expedition than on the first, will nonetheless have a *nostos* to Argos with the body of his son. The light in this poem is light with attendant darkness.

4. *The Ending*

If this is the case, the traditional reading of lines 95-97, perhaps the most famous in all of Pindar, is surely correct. They are generally seen as elegiac, often as the supreme statement in Greek poetry of the human condition, where pain is prevalent but redeemed by flashes of joy. Here as elsewhere Pindar uses metaphors of vicissitude. Lines 92-94 with their image of increase and fall remind one of the similar sentiments elsewhere—the prosperity that is swung aloft at *Ol.* 2.21-22, 37, the winds of fortune at the end of the Seventh *Olympian.* The gnome in this case ends with fortune in the dust. The reflection on the lot of man follows immediately.

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71 Wilamowitz (above, note 31) 441.

72 Krischer (above, note 48) 123.

73 Cf. *Ol.* 8.68-69. The comparison of these two passages is instructive: both describe the return of defeated athletes, but the passage in *Ol.* 8 does mention a return to the mother.

74 Critics are divided on when the matricide, which must have been an important incident in the *Epigoni* or in the *Alcmaeonis*, took place: I. Krauskopf, *LIMC* I.1 (1981) 547, thinks it must have been after the return of the Epigoni while E. Bethe, *RE* I.2 (1894) 1551, 1563, places it before their departure.

A recent article proposes a new reading of these lines.[75] They are not a reflection on human fortunes but a reworking of a common epinician *topos*: life without victory is equivalent to death, man is dead (a shade) without victory but given life by achievement. Thus read, the words are a compliment to Aristomenes. The sadness is gone and something more encouraging is put in its place. This provides a more upbeat ending to the poem, though the transition to the last lines is difficult unless we remove from the final prayer the note of apprehension usually found there and read it as a notice that Aegina's freedom has already been won.

The new interpretation is not, however, convincing. σκιᾶς ὄναρ is supposed to mean "the dream felt by a shade" (a subjective genitive, not an objective genitive as it is usually construed). But parallels are lacking for dreaming dead, and the very concept seems dubious. More important, a text adduced as probative points rather to the greatest difficulty in the reading:

> ἀρετᾶ[ς γε μ]ὲν οὐ μινύθει
> βροτῶν ἅμα σ[ώμ]ατι φέγγος ἀλλὰ
> Μοῦσά νιν τρ[έφει]. (Bacch. 3.90-92)

This is indeed a *topos*. But what it says is that victory requires song to live on. Life is enhanced by victory, but *sub specie aeternitatis* it is no better than death if it is not validated by song. Pindar often says this (e.g. *Pyth.* 3.114-115, *Nem.* 4.1-8). Bacchylides is advertising the power of song to overcome death. Pindar does not do so in this passage. He dwells on the reversals of human fortune but says nothing of death and the poet. The movement is easy from this sober absence of mitigation for the briefness of human felicity to the prayer for a prosperous passage for an unhappy Aegina. Pindar had in lines 67-72 prayed for Apollo's assistance in the presentation of his victory catalogue.[76] Listing previous victories does not normally require assistance of such a powerful divinity, but the

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[75] P. Toohey, "Shades of Meaning in Pindar, *Pythian* 8, 95-97," *QUCC* 26 (1987) 73-87.

[76] There is still much debate whether ἑκόντι...νόῳ (67) is to be taken of Apollo or of the poet: see, most recently, P. Giannini, "Note esegetiche alle *Pitiche* 6 e 8 di Pindaro," *QUCC* 49 (1995) 45-53. On the whole I think it likely that ἑκόντι...νόῳ echoes εὐμενεῖ...νόῳ of line 18 and so refers to Apollo, but it is not crucial to the argument advanced here to settle the matter, on which there is in any case no consensus.

case here is unusual and of unwonted difficulty, for the catalogue, tempered with reflections on the mutability of fortune, runs the risk of being overwhelmed by the general pessimism of the context and the overall tone. It is hymn for a victor in a subject city and as such seeks a difficult balance.[77]

5. *Unity*

Wilamowitz's comment, "Pindar had too much weighing on his heart to be able to mold the various elements into a whole,"[78] is unfortunate if it implies that we are entitled to look for a whole that could be no more than the expression of a *Grundgedanke.* But there is a danger in treating the poem as simply a collection of passages that may be discussed without relation to the entirety, as many recent treatments have done: the impression gained thereby reinforces Wilamowitz's generally negative assessment of this great poem. If the parts *can* be seen as contributing to an intelligible whole there is much to be gained and the reading is more satisfying. This is not to invoke a false or anachronistic aesthetic.

The Eighth *Pythian* is an epinician ode for a young wrestler from Aegina in 446. The poem is affected by the political situation of that year, and it is the political situation rather than the poet's age that accounts for the subdued tone and dark colours of the canvas. Over a quarter of a century earlier he had composed the First *Pythian* for Hieron of Syracuse and told the myth of the triumph of Apollo and Zeus in heaven and of their representatives on earth, Hieron and Deinomenes, over the foes of Olympus and of Greece respectively. The victory was overt and scored over barbarians. Now Pindar quotes himself[79] and invites comparison with the earlier poem. There is a foe again, symbolised once again by Typhos and by Porphyrion, but the lesson to be learned from their discomfiture is given in a timeless, gnomic aorist: βία δὲ καὶ μεγάλαυχον ἔσφαλεν ἐν χρόνῳ (15). Civil concord or Ἡσυχία holds the key to victory and the poet appeals to it. Aristomenes' athletic victory can unite the opposing factions on the island, and an Aegina that is harmonious and without internal dissension will be

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77 See T. K. Hubbard, "On Implied Wishes for Olympic Victory in Pindar," *ICS* 20 (1995) 51 n. 54.

78 Wilamowitz (above, note 31) 440.

79 Demonstrated in convincing detail by Krischer (above, note 49).

in a position to make common and successful cause against its enemies. The invocation of ʽΗσυχία, which can scuttle ὕβρις (12) and preserve Aegina on a course that is free, shows that the real victory lies in the future, for the ʽΗσυχία for which the poet appeals at a time of internal division is a precondition of success against external enemies. The present enemy is not named explicitly, for Aegina is still subject, and among the political parties that need to be reconciled is a pro-Athenian faction. But the aristocrats assembled around the Meidylidae will have had little trouble seeing Athens in the monsters at the beginning of the ode. Pindar reports a personal revelation from the destroyer of Thebes and leaves it open to his audience to imagine that the prophecy was a prediction of the defeat of Athens.

Pindar knows the cost of strife between Greek states. The mood of the poem is without the jubilation of three decades earlier when united Greeks had triumphed over Carthaginians, Phoenicians, and Persians: the lyre there was symbol of Hellas itself[80] and would resonate in the σύμφωνος ἡσυχία of a new Dorian foundation (*Pyth.* 1.70). But now Greek will be turned inevitably against Greek and the cost will be great. Pindar's unaccustomed choice of myth for his last Aeginetan poem shows this. It is a tale of internecine war, of the destruction of something that he holds dear, and a tale of qualified success because of its cost to the victor. A note of sadness permeates the poem and is evident in the awareness of the loss involved in victory gained. Fate is capricious and often malign, life precarious and for the most part dark. But there is reason for hope. The poem ends with a reminder that the moment of brightness redeems the darkness, and this issues in a prayer for the beloved island, still under the yoke but looking to a future free of the present travail. The hope is validated by the final litany of Aegina's heroes, the Aeacids; they, like its athletes, including the young man honoured on this occasion, have existed ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς (25-27). They demonstrate the power of inheritance and can be taken as the surest pledge that the future will not be without the glory of the past.

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[80] Cf. G. Norwood, *Pindar* (above, note 34) 103.

BACCHYLIDES

Bacchylides was born at Iulis on the island of Ceos.[1] He was grandson of an athlete of the same name. His father's name is given as Meidon by the *Suda* and Meidylos by the *Etymologicum Magnum*. We are told that he was the nephew of Simonides and this is generally taken to mean that his mother was sister of Simonides,[2] though it is also possible that his grandmother was twice married, once to Leoprepes, father of Simonides, and once to Bacchylides the athlete, with Leoprepes and Meidon/Meidylos half-brothers.[3] The exact year of his birth cannot be determined with precision. His ἀκμή is placed by Eusebius in the second year of the 78th Olympiad, no doubt because of his most important commission, for the chariot-victory at Olympia of Hieron of Syracuse in 468. The *Chronicon Paschale* places the ἀκμή in 480 but this is certainly erroneous. That he was a contemporary of Pindar is clear from the fact that they wrote for the same patrons. An ancient but unreliable tradition made Bacchylides younger than Pindar.[4] Pindar's birth-date is usually taken to be 518, which will be the approximate date of Bacchylides' birth too.[5] Almost nothing is known of the life of Bacchylides. Plutarch maintains that he was in exile in the Peloponnese. This may be an inference from the fact that Pindar wrote a paean (4, of uncertain date) for the Ceans and this was considered an unlikely commission if Bacchylides had been present on Ceos at the time. Date of death may be 451 since Eusebius mentions him in his entry for that year; and no date after the 450s can be assigned to the odes: 6 and 7, for the Olympic victory of Lachon of Ceos, and 1 and 2, for the Isthmian

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[1] The standard edition of the poet is B. Snell-H. Maehler, *Bacchylides*[10] (Leipzig 1970); all references are to the numbers of this edition: the *epinikia* and dithyrambs are given straight numbers, while fr. is prefixed to the shorter fragments (pp. 82 ff.). Of fundamental importance is H. Maehler, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides: Erster Teil, Die Siegeslieder* 2 vols. (*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 62: Leiden 1982). For further bibliography, see D. E. Gerber, *Lustrum* 32 (1990) 67-98.

[2] The testimonia are collected by Snell-Maehler, pp. 130-132.

[3] See J. H. Molyneux, *Simonides: A Historical Study* (Wauconda, Ill. 1992) 97.

[4] See Maehler (above, note 1) 1.I.6-7.

[5] A. Severyns, *Bacchylide, essai biographique* (Liège 1933) 15-30, argues plausibly for 518/517 as birth-date for Bacchylides.

victory of Argeius of Ceos, are from the 450s, most likely from Bacchylides' last years.[6] The entry in Eusebius which refers to Bacchylides in 431 is thought to refer to a homonymous pipe-player from Opus.[7]

Poetry

The works of Bacchylides were collected by the Alexandrians, who included him in the canon of nine *lyrikoi,* in nine books: dithyrambs, paeans, hymns, prosodia, partheneia, hyporchemata in honour of the gods, and epinician odes, encomia, and erotica in honour of men. Only some 100 lines of Bacchylides were known from citation in ancient authors when a papyrus-find in Egypt produced substantial portions of fourteen *epinikia* and six dithyrambs. These fragments were acquired by the British Museum in 1896 and published in an *editio princeps* by Kenyon in the following year.[8] An important edition by Jebb followed shortly thereafter.[9] The discovery allowed an appreciation of Bacchylides' art for the first time since antiquity, but it also caused his reputation to suffer by comparison with the epinician poetry of Pindar, a judgement already voiced by the author of the περὶ ὕψους, 33.5. This judgement has been considerably altered in recent years and Bacchylides is increasingly assessed in his own right, without invidious comparison. Much credit for this is due to the fine commentary of Herwig Maehler.

The papyrus seems to give the full book of epinician odes and the first six poems of the book of dithyrambs, arranged alphabetically. Of the *epinikia,* the earliest appears to be 13. A drinking-song (encomium?) for Alexander, son of Amyntas of Macedon and king 498-454, seems to be from the youth of both poet and addressee and so may be our earliest fragment, dating from before 490. Ode 13 is for the Nemean victory of the young Pytheas of Aegina, for whom Pindar composed *Nem.* 5 in the same year. Pindar's two poems for the brother Phylacides, *Isth.* 5 and 6, contain indications that allow us to date Bacchylides 13 with probability to 485 or 483.

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6 See Maehler (above, note 1) 1.II.3, 125-127.
7 Maehler (above, note 1) 1.I.7, n. 24.
8 F. G. Kenyon, *The Poems of Bacchylides* (London 1897).
9 R. C. Jebb, *Bacchylides: The Poems and Fragments* (Cambridge 1905).

The poem, at 230 lines, is the longest we possess, though the first forty lines are badly mutilated. We see that Bacchylides, when writing for Aeginetan victors, drew, as Pindar almost always did in his Aeginetan Odes, on myths of the Aeacids.[10] But the poem is also instructive in the comparison it provides with Pindar's method of procedure.[11] Pindar in four verses (*Nem.* 5.9-13) gives only a glimpse of the Aeacidae, with a short scene in which Peleus and Telamon and their half-brother Phocus (whom they later slew), stand at an altar, with hands raised to Zeus, praying for the greatness of the island. Bacchylides devotes over sixty lines (100-167) to a description of the central scene of the *Iliad*, the battle at the ships.[12] His elaboration of an individual scene is like what we find in the newly-discovered fragments of Stesichorus. This more discursive style in mythical narration may owe something to Bacchylides' Ionian, rather than Doric, background—Bacchylides came from the world that produced the epic, and Stesichorus probably inherited his Homeric expansiveness from the bardic tradition to which he seems to belong. Bacchylides' style is nonetheless not Homeric but idiosyncratic and very carefully elaborated: he tells the story of Ajax at the ships, presenting the confrontation with Hector and introducing Achilles' name at the outset (101) along with that of Ajax (104) and thus placing the Aeacid cousins together, but then emphasing the rôle played by Ajax during the absence of Achilles. The scene at the ships is presented in ring-composition (105, 160); at 134 in a flashback we learn of Achilles' withdrawal from action and the quarrel with Agamemnon. The scene given is the turning-point of the *Iliad*, and Bacchylides deliberately presents in detail the very incident that will lead to the entry into the battle and death of Patroclus with the subsequent return of Achilles to wreak such havoc on the Trojans—the myth ends with the mention of the Trojans turning the waters of Scamander red and thus the valour of both of the Aeacidae can be emphasised again (167). Here as elsewhere

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[10] Aegina, daughter of the the river Asopus, was mother by Zeus of Aeacus, the father of Telamon and Peleus. Ajax and Achilles are, accordingly, cousins. This relationship is never brought to the fore in Homer, though it is of paramount importance in the myths told by epinician-poets for Aeginetan athletes.

[11] The comparison is drawn by Jebb (above, note 9) 217.

[12] Pindar, by contrast, never in his myths gives a scene we know from our *Iliad*.

Bacchylides is allusive in his art and expects the co-operation of the audience who will know the stories and the works of literature on which his narration is based and be able to extrapolate from what he relates. The scene of Ajax at the ships introduces a long simile (124-132) in which the daring of the Trojans while Achilles is out of the action is compared to the mood of sailors who take heart at the dawn after a night storm. Again the simile is wholly individual in that it calls attention to the subjective, to the changing moods of the Trojans; the simile is not an analogue to the action as a Homeric simile would be. The whole central portion of the poem with its myth is preceded and followed, as usual in Bacchylides, by a section praising the city and the victor (67-99 and 182-198). The mutilated first part of the poem (1-58) seems to be a description, perhaps by the nymph Nemea, of Heracles killing the Nemean lion at the site of the games. The two myths, then, enhance the occasion, with the first being a report of a sort of pancration at Nemea that preceded Pytheas' victory in the pancration, reported by Bacchylides, and the second a tribute to the heroism of the Aeacids of Aegina, the boy's island.

Ode 11 also gives us a fine example of the care with which Bacchylidean narrative is composed. The myth (40-112) is placed between an initial and a final praise-section (15-39 and 113-116). It tells of the madness of the daughters of Proetus, their flight from Tiryns (55-57, λιποῦσαι) and their healing by Artemis. The story is told in elaborate ring-composition, the outer ring being the mention of the altar dedicated to Artemis by the maidens (40-42, and 110-112). Within it is the earlier story of the rivalry between Acrisius and Proetus and the flight of the latter from Argos for Tiryns, itself told as a ring (λιπόντες, 60 and 81) and emphasising the motif, also contained in the outer myth, that an apparently disastrous situation leading to flight may lead to a happy outcome. The story of Proetus continues with the telling of his grief at his daughters' madness and resolve to commit suicide, leading to his healing bath (85-95) which precedes the healing of his daughters. All the narrative is unified by the central rôle of Artemis. She is the patron goddess of Metapontum, the city of the addressee Alexidamus and colony of the cities celebrated in the myth, and she is invoked at the beginning and end of the poem. She is said to have set right the course of the boy's fortunes: earlier he had been cheated of a deserved wrestling-victory at Olympia (24-39) but now

his course has been set in a happier direction because of his Pythian victory. The art and limpidity of the myth and the unity of the poem are characteristically Bacchylidean. In a comparable instance in one of Pindar's most brilliant poems, the Seventh *Olympian*, we have a telling of a number of stories associated with Rhodes, the city of the victor, including its colonisation, and the same theme of potential disaster averted through divine intervention. But the purport of the myth and its applicability to the victor's case escape us.[13]

The most famous poems of Bacchylides are those for Hieron of Syracuse: 5 is for the victory of the horse Pherenicus at Olympia in 476, the occasion of Pindar's *Ol.* 1; 4 is for the chariot-victory at Delphi in 470, the occasion of *Pyth.* 1; and 3 is for Hieron's greatest victory, in 468 with the chariot at Olympia, for which there is no song from Pindar. The biographical tradition posits rivalry and hostility between Pindar and Bacchylides at the court of Syracuse, with Pindar making unflattering allusion to Bacchylides and Simonides in the two jackdaws mentioned at *Ol.* 2.87 and to Bacchylides in the monkey of *Pyth.* 2.72 (the scholiasts on both passages advance this interpretation). The tendency to believe in personal animosity between Pindar and the Cean poets is now not widespread. It must be remembered that there is no evidence for the presence of either poet at Hieron's court that is not based on inference from the poetry, and the proem of Bacchylides 5 *prima facie* seems to indicate in fact that Bacchylides is not present in Syracuse, for he speaks as one who sends his poem across the sea to Syracuse from Ceos (10-12). The dual verb γαρύετον at *Ol.* 2.88 remains perplexing, however, for it is hard to escape the impression that the reference to two jackdaws is a reference to two particular people, whoever they may be.[14] The apparently querulous tone of the ending of the Second *Pythian* is best read within the conventions of praise-poetry and not as biography.[15] But it remains a fact that Bacchylides, not Pindar, was commissioned to write the official ode (3) for Hieron's Olympic victory of 468. In 476 both

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[13] The scholiast suggests that the addressee of the poem, Diagoras of Rhodes, had killed a man in the boxing at Olympia. But this is likely no more than a guess, prompted by the lack of obvious relevance of the myths to the occasion.

[14] See Molyneux (above, note 3) 248-251.

[15] G. W. Most, *The Measures of Praise: Structure and Function in Pindar's Second Pythian and Seventh Nemean Odes* (Hypomnemata 83: Göttingen 1985).

poets had produced magnificent poems, presumably both on commission; in 470 Pindar composed a splendid offering for official performance in Sicily while the Bacchylidean contribution is the perfunctory 4, a mere 20 lines performed at Delphi immediately after the victory. In 468, for whatever reason, Pindar was not invited to compose a song of celebration.

The ode for the victory of 476 is generally considered Bacchylides' masterpiece. It is constructed, as are the longer poems analysed above, with a mythical narrative (56-175) placed between initial and final praise of the victor and his city. The dark colours of the canvas are remarkable and seem not to suit the celebration of victory until we remember that Heracles is always appropriate to epinician poetry as the archetypal ἀθλητής.[16] Moreover, the epinician ode, as a hymn εἰς ἀνθρώπους, must have as part of its function a reminder of the limits of mortal felicity since it celebrates men at the moment when the distinction between god and mortal is most susceptible to blurring. Here the long story of Heracles' descent to the underworld to fetch Cerberus and his meeting with Meleager, who recounts the story of the hunt for the Calydonian Boar and of his death because of the anger of his mother Althaea, is introduced precisely as illustration of the adage that "no mortal is fortunate in all things" (54-55).[17] Comparison with the work of Stesichorus and Pindar is illuminating again in this case. Bacchylides' narrative is like that of Stesichorus, with a more discursive style and a fondness for speeches: the encounter between Heracles and Meleager is a set of five alternating speeches, with the third and central one by Meleager the longest, giving the story within a story. It is difficult to escape the suspicion that such poetry was bardic rather than choral, and the suspicion is abetted when we notice that Pindar in *his* poem for the same victory introduces in self-address (*Ol.* 1.16-18) the very figure of the bard at the feast (like Demodocus in *Od.* 8). Pindar's myth is the tale of Pelops rapt to heaven, while Bacchylides gives us a descent to Hades or *katabasis*, but near the surface of Pindar's tale lurks a tale of descent too, that

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[16] See n. 5 in the section on Simonides (p. 244).

[17] It is remarkable that Pindar's four odes for Hieron (*Ol.* 1 and *Pyth.* 1,2,3) all tell stories of the punishment of sinners (Tantalus, Typhoeus, Ixion, and Coronis respectively), while the other ode of Bacchylides for Hieron (3) celebrates the victory, as it were, from a funeral pyre (of Croesus). This may have corresponded to the tastes and predilections of the addressee.

of Persephone, honoured with her mother in Syracuse.[18] In Bacchylides' myth, probably based on an epic *katabasis* which also left traces in *Aeneid* 6,[19] the story that Heracles hears Meleager tell awakens Heracles' admiration and seals his fate by sending him to the upper world to court Deianeira, with mention of whom (172-175) the myth ends. Here we have another instance of Bacchylidean allusiveness: the hearer must extrapolate from what is recounted to a conclusion outside the poem. Bacchylides evokes the death of Heracles through the indirect agency of a figure in the underworld (cf. Sophocles, *Trach.* 1159-1162) and the direct agency of the woman he will marry. One of Bacchylides' dithyrambs (16) tells the story of Deianeira sending the Nessus-shirt to her husband. Through the evocation of the death of Heracles Bacchylides in all likelihood evokes his apotheosis too: Pindar in *Nem.* 1, quite possibly from the same year 476, tells the story of the apotheosis directly, without linking it to the martyrdom and pyre. Characteristically Bacchylidean again is the subjective and pathetic turn to the story: Heracles, on this occasion and for the only time in his life, sheds tears upon hearing the tale told by Meleager (155-157).

In ode 3, for Hieron's great victory of 468, the structure is what we have come to expect, with a mythical narrative that has a speech at its centre (37-47) placed between two praise-sections. What causes some surprise is to find a figure from recent history placed on a par with figures of myth, for the narrative is of the destruction of Sardis and Croesus' immolation on the funeral pyre.[20] The relevance of the exemplar in the narrative is not far to seek. Both Croesus and Hieron were rich and powerful despots on the periphery of the Greek world who had ostentatiously honoured Apollo at Delphi. Moreover, it may be that Hieron cultivated the comparison with Croesus: Pindar had in 470 compared the φιλόφρων ἀρετά of Hieron to that of Croesus (*Pyth.* 1.94).[21] Hieron

[18] See R. D. Griffith, "Pelops and Sicily: The Myth of Pindar *Ol.* I," *JHS* 109 (1989) 171-173.

[19] H. Lloyd-Jones, "Heracles at Eleusis," *Maia* n.s. 19 (1967) 206-229 = *Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy: The Academic Papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones* (Oxford 1990) 167-187.

[20] Croesus died in 546 B.C.

[21] But for Pindar Croesus is a positive example to set beside Phalaris, the tyrant of Acragas at the same period, and so the figures do not quite achieve the stature of mythical paradigms.

was near the end of his life and ill—the First *Pythian* alludes to his sickness by comparing him to Philoctetes (50 ff.). The translation of Croesus to the land of the Hyperboreans by Apollo at the end of the story suggests the requital of piety and continued life for the great ruler, just as his continued fame is assured by the poetry of Bacchylides (90-93). The reward for virtue is made explicit in Apollo's saving of Croesus from death. Once again the limpidity of Bacchylides' art may profitably be compared to the indirectness of Pindar's. In the Second *Olympian* for Theron of Acragas in 476, Pindar had honoured that ruler's religious beliefs and adumbrated a doctrine of a happy life after death for the righteous. Theron's place is only very indirectly hinted at: the myth ends with a mention of Achilles' translation to the Islands of the Blessed (79-80) and if we keep in mind that Peleus and Cadmus are associated in felicity in line 78 we may expect that a descendant of Cadmus (Theron) will probably have a place beside the descendant of Peleus (Achilles).[22]

Poems 15-20 in the papyrus in the British Museum are called dithyrambs and were presumably so named by the Alexandrians on whose work the manuscript depended. Since they are alphabetical in the order of the initial letter of their titles and these go down only to I (Io and Idas) they must have been part of a larger collection. The problem for modern scholars has been to decide whether these poems are really dithyrambs in the strict sense of poems in honour of Dionysus sung by cyclic choruses or whether they were so classified by the Alexandrians simply because they contained heroic narrative. It seems on balance likely that the Alexandrians had good reason for their classification, and that any reluctance on our part to accept these poems as dithyrambs must be based on our very imperfect knowledge of this sort of poetry. We have already seen, in the case of Simonides (p. 249), a problem resulting from lack of clear knowledge of the ancient dithyramb. Some of the poems seem too slight to have been performed chorally at major festivals, but we can at least see that 16, though only a single triad of 35 lines, was a dithyramb in the strict sense of a poem performed at Delphi in the winter months when Apollo was absent.

[22] For the differences between Bacchylides' account and that of Herodotus, and the possible sources of both, see Maehler (above, note 1) 1.II.35-36.

The masterpiece of this collection is 17, a long poem for the Ceans to perform at Delos. Since the narrative ends with a shipboard chorus singing a paean to Apollo and since the poem is said to be for performance at Delos, some, including Jebb,[23] have thought it is a paean. But the words "sang a paean" (128) are not probative since they refer to the activity of the chorus of the narrative. The poem is a superb example of Bacchylidean style, with its central piece a confrontation between Theseus, who is accompanying the youths and maidens to Crete, and Minos, the Cretan king. It contains perhaps the most signal example of all of the subtlety with which Bacchylidean narrative alludes to the outcome without stating it directly. Theseus dives into the sea to retrieve the ring that Minos has tossed into the waves, expecting that the leap will eliminate the defender of the young Athenians. The miraculous return of Theseus corroborates his assertion that he too is god-descended (29-38). Bacchylides, however, ignores the ring and instead ends the scene with the appearance of the young hero embellished by the gifts of the gods (124), bestowed on him by the Nereids in the halls of their father. As in the case of the Heracles-story in 5, the end of the narrative in the poem foretells indirectly the end of the story that the audience can be expected to know: Theseus will be irresistible to Ariadne and this will guarantee the success of the mission to Crete and save the young Athenians.[24]

Dithyramb 18 is vividly dramatic, with an exchange between a chorus-leader and a chorus. There has been much discussion whether this is a survival of the form from which tragedy allegedly developed (ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον, Aristotle, *Poet.* 1449a.10) or whether the poem of Bacchylides, doubtless meant for performance at Athens at a period when there were regular tragic competitions, is itself influenced by tragedy.

In addition to the two Theseus-dithyrambs (17 and 18), the most important of the collection, there are in the principal papyrus substantial pieces of narrative that have to do with Antenor (15), Heracles (16), Io (19), and Idas (20). Fragments of other provenance seem to indicate dithyrambs about Cassandra, Meleager (?), Pasiphae (?), Chiron (?), and Orpheus (?) (23-28).

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[23] Jebb (above, note 9) 223.

[24] See R. Scodel, "The Irony of Fate in Bacchylides 17," *Hermes* 112 (1984) 137-143.

The language of Bacchylides is the *koine* familiar from the choral poets and Stesichorus, though there is in addition to Homerisms, Aeolisms, and Doric, a more pronounced Ionic element than in Pindar. This is doubtless to be explained as a local adaptation due to his Cean origin. Bacchylides shows an extraordinary originality in his use of language, with about 230 words that are found only or for the first time in what survives to us of his work. Far from being careless reworkings they are usually significant elements of his word-painting and enhance the often pathetic tone and subjective colour of his narrative.[25] His poetry, especially the epinician odes, is full of γνῶμαι, which often serve as bridge between one part of the poem and another.[26] These aphorisms transmit traditional wisdom and, like myth, link the occasion and the excellence of the victors to a wider context. As in Pindar we find a strong consciousness of the poet's rôle and of the mutual dependence of poet and patron. This is no doubt closely connected to the circumstances, which we first observe with Simonides, that make the traffic between poet and patron an economy in which praise and immortality are given in exchange for money. Bacchylides' poems are both triadic and strophic, with dactylo-epitritic metre by far the most common, though there is some use of iambic-Aeolic metres. There are few indications that he was popular in classical Athens, but Callimachus knew his work and the papyrus-finds show that he was popular in the Hellenistic and imperial times. The disappearance of his work led to quite general ignorance of him in the European poetic tradition.

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[25] C. Segal, "Bacchylides Reconsidered: Epithets and the Dynamics of Lyric Narrative," *QUCC* 22 (1976) 99-130.

[26] Cf. lines 3.50-55 (discussed above), which serve to connect the introductory praise-section to the myth.

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2. PASSAGES DISCUSSED

Included here are only those passages which are discussed in some detail. The iambic and elegiac poets are cited according to the second edition of M. L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* (Oxford 1989 and 1992), the Lesbian poets according to E.-M. Voigt, *Sappho et Alcaeus* (Amsterdam 1971), Pindar and Bacchylides according to H. Maehler's latest Teubner editions, and the remaining lyric poets according to D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962), and M. Davies, *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* I (Oxford 1991).

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